WAR DANGER PERSISTS IN TAIWAN STRAIT

Sane world seeks to brake Dulles

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By Kumar Goshal

THE CRISIS in the Taiwan Strait remained as tense and dangerous as ever last week, but there were increasing efforts by America's allies, the neutral nations and, at last, Americans themselves, to brake Secy. Dulles' drive to catastrophe.

On Sept. 27 the N.Y. **Times** reported that mail to the State Dept. had increased perceptibly after President Eisenhower's televised address to the nation two weeks ago. Of the 5,000 letters received, 3,000 came during the week ending Sept. 27, and 80% of all letters opposed the Administration's Quemoy policy. The report provoked revealing reactions from Vice President Nixon and Dulles.

Nixon said he was "shocked." He accused State Dept. officials who let the information out of a "patent and deliberate effort . . . to sabotage [the Administration's] policy." He said the U.S. government could not permit its foreign policy to be influenced by letters from people "in the light of the minimum and often misleading information available to them." Dulles dismissed the letters as of "no significance."

AN OLD NOTION: In response to Nixon's public-be-damned attitude, the **Times'** Washington Bureau chief, James Reston, said a reporter got the news about the mail not from a State Dept. "saboteur" but in a routine inquiry at the department's Public Correspondence Branch. Noting that a "testy" Administration seemed to have ignored "what used to be regarded as the popular notion that the people in a democracy have a little common sense," Reston added:

"After all, they have been taught to do to others what they would like to have others do to them—and everyone

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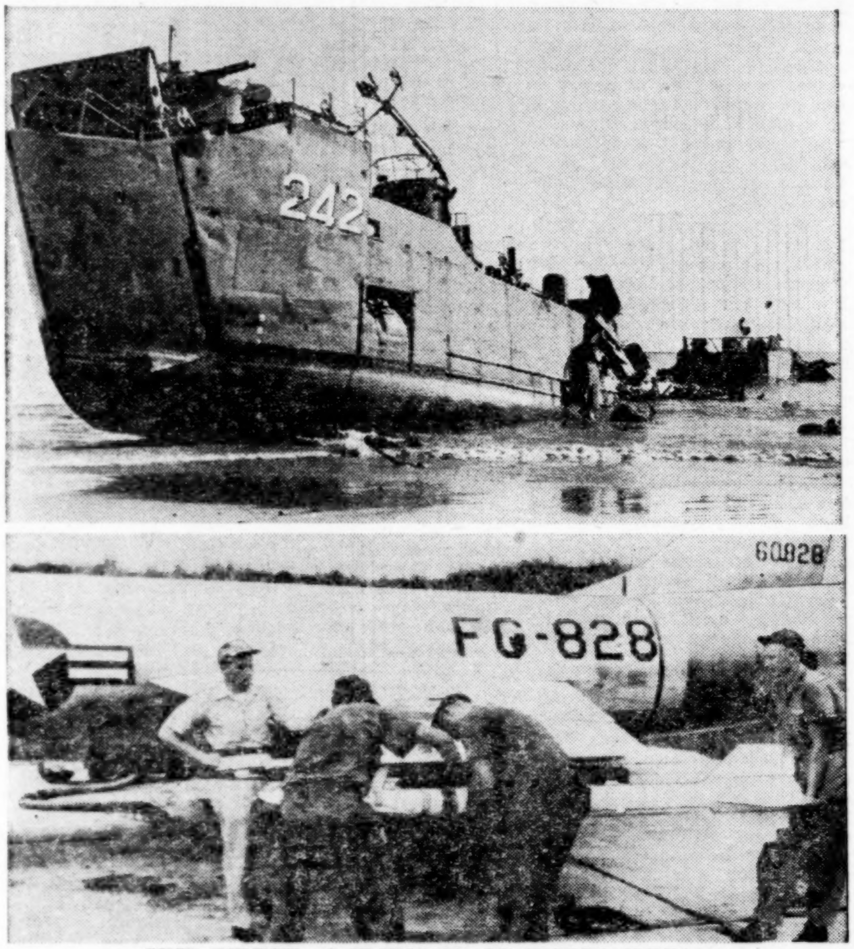

SHIP-WRECK—A WARNING OF WORLD-WRECK

One of Chiang Kai-shek's landing craft (top) lies in Quemoy harbor, wrecked by Chinese shells from the mainland. That is civil war. U.S. airmen (bottom) at their base on Taiwan adjust a side-winder missile to a jet fighter. When these fliers let their missiles go, civil war may turn to world war and the wreckage could engulf us all.

NO SCHEMES, NO EVASIONS

Supreme Court to segregationists: Keep your hands off the schools

WHILE ARKANSAS' GOV. Orval Faubus and his co-segregationists worked feverishly on plans to keep Little Rock's high schools jimcrow, the Supreme Court said with finality that they were violating the Constitution and would be held accountable. The Court, in a 17-page opinion, delivered Sept. 29, held that the rights of Negro children to education in integrated schools "can neither be nullified openly and directly by State legislators or State executive or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted ingeniously or ingenuously."

On the same day a Federal Circuit Court in Omaha, Neb., ordered the Little Rock Board of Education to keep control of the schools of that city and to maintain them on an integrated basis. The order clearly forbids Faubus or any other individual or group from using any ruse to keep the high schools open on a jimcrow setup. That night the Board announced it would abide by the Omaha court order but on Sept. 30 the high schools remained closed.

The Supreme Court opinion elaborated on a Sept. 12 ruling denying an appeal from the Little Rock school board for a 30-month delay in its gradual integration plan.

Faubus had sought to achieve what the Court denied by ordering a rigged election and pressuring the school board to lease four shut-down high schools to a "private" corporation which would run them as segregated institutions. The schools had hardly been turned over to the "private" group on Sept. 29 when

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DEATH SENTENCE COMMUTED

Jimmy Wilson wins his fight for life

TO QUIET WHAT he called an "international hullabaloo" Gov. James E. Folsom of Alabama last week spared the life of Jimmy Wilson, a Negro who had been sentenced to the electric chair on a charge of stealing $1.95 from a white woman. The Governor commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. Under Alabama law he will not be eligible for parole for 15 years.

Wilson's attorney Fred Gray said he would continue the legal battle to reduce the sentence. An appeal to the Supreme Court, he said, was still possible.

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Get out, Mr. Dulles!

ON SEPTEMBER 29 THE GUARDIAN received a cablegram from Anna Louise Strong. The dateline was Peking. The text follows:

"Ten days in Peking show China strong, prosperous and confident as it is preparing to challenge America over the offshore islands which constantly interfere with China's shipping. The country is unafraid even of nuclear bombs but considers China less vulnerable to the bombs than the U.S. because the economy is decentralized. However, the Chinese have good nerves, are not trigger-happy and probably will avoid American ships unless they get too much in the way."

This is the sober estimate of a veteran correspondent who knows China and the Chinese people perhaps better than any working American correspondent—and is the only such correspondent in China today.

In the face of this estimate, and in the face of unprecedented protest both abroad and at home, our war-minded Secretary of State guides a seemingly supine President—and the nation—to the brink of disaster.

THE LONDON MIRROR asks in a page-one editorial: "Does President Eisenhower realize that American policy over Quemoy is regarded by the rest of the world as INSANE? Does Ike realize that John Foster Dulles—the man he admires most (now that Sherman Adams has quit)—is known outside the White House as DISASTER DULLES?"

We do not in general hold to the theory that single men shape the destiny of nations. But history demonstrates that single men in certain circumstances can influence the direction of events which might otherwise be avoided. The name Hitler leaps to mind. The image of Secretary of De-

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

On compromise

OAKLAND, CALIF.

I have a high regard for Anna Louise Strong which prompts me to make a few comments on her Spectator column (Sept. 15). I cannot understand her equating the Soviet and U.S. policies. The U.S., I feel, is totally in the wrong on present international issues. No amount of diplomatic maneuvering or UN speeches will be able to set our policy straight. The U.S. working class and its allies alone possess the power and ability. And until that time comes, and a basic challenge to our war-tending foreign policy is presented, the peace forces of the world must seek to isolate the U.S. government, as, indeed, they are doing with brilliant success.

But where would the neutralist powers be without a solid core of socialist nations who are able fearlessly and unequivocally to lay bare the schemes, strategy and motives behind Dulles' criminal folly? Does not this tend to intimidate and give pause to the imperialists just as at the same time it heartens and encourages the billions of people fighting for peace and their right to live a decent life?

Surely when the Soviet Union is able to illuminate for all mankind on the highest levels of public diplomacy the sordid motives of American intervention ("oil, oil and again oil"), this is an indispensable service to the peace movement, and sets the stage for compromise measures to lessen tension.

James Forsyth

An image created?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I don't agree with your policies and therefore don't care to support those policies—yet I do believe in free speech and press and so feel disturbed that this freedom is becoming harder to maintain for financial and other reasons for "liberal" periodicals.

I find your paper interestingly edited but object to the employment of double values in the sense that the image created is one of the Soviet Union always acting in good faith and the U.S. seldom acting in good faith. There do not seem to be the same standards of criticism to both sides.

Ted Crawford

Thanks anyway

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

As a paper of news for radicals you are excellent; as a journal of opinion I think you had better leave it to the party papers, **Worker, Militant**, etc. Having no organizational commitment to any program, you give the impression of flabbiness when you try to express opinion.

Again, thanks for such a good newspaper.

J. Charles Jones

Unavailable elsewhere

BETHLEHEM, PA.

My decision to renew or not was a very hard one to make—$5 is a lot (to me). But I do find stuff in your paper that I don't get otherwise—for example that article on Australia's growing peace movement told me some of what I've wanted to know for a long time (I am an Australian). So, with my enclosed check goes my apology for not renewing much earlier.

Lorna Scott

Blind and blind

VICTORIA, B.C.

With all the "social welfare" —so-called — the rich are still growing richer and the poor poorer. The sooner each country does its duty by its own people—the better. Instead of using the excuse of the underprivileged in other countries to dispense colossal sums to support governments favorable to the INVISIBLE force undermining every country in the world. At present it is a case of the blind leading the blind.

Please continue exposing the nefarious trickery being played on the "little folk."

(Mrs.) Ellen Hart

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

As economists, our interest in the chemise with its short skirt was stimulated when we discovered that a change in hemlines is generally followed by a change in business activity.

As our chart indicates, a drop in hemlines has usually been followed by a drop in business. And when hemlines have gone up, the reverse has been true. If our correlation stands up, the knee-length chemise means prosperity for the years just ahead.

—This Week magazine, 9/14

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L.L., San Francisco, Calif.

There were several entries of the same item. The letter with the earliest postmark was chosen as winner.

Back to the monkeys

GRAND JUNCTION, MICH.

Well, it is quite a while since we first got acquainted—away back in the Henry Wallace days.

Times are so good here on the farm that out of about twelve farms within a square mile we are the only one that has a chicken or cow.

I hope some irresponsible crackpot doesn't get drunk and put his thumb on the wrong button. Then we all go out, and let another breed of monkeys start all over again.

G. Smith

New club in San Diego

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

A National Guardian Club is being formed in San Diego that aims to bring subs hereabouts to 200 this year and to double this during 1959. Ways and means and other objectives will be democratically determined on Fridays at 8 p.m., at 4561 North Av., near Park and Adams, on Oct. 3, 17 and 31. Then a few carloads will probably attend the big L.A. birthday party on Nov. 8.

On Oct. 17 it is suggested that we sponsor Maud Russell, speaking on "Modern China and the Taming of the River Hwai," illustrated.

Now is the time for all good people to come to the support of this newspaper.

H. C. Steinmetz

A chance in Seattle

SEATTLE, WASH.

There is a far greater opportunity to reinvigorate socialism now than many believe. The attitude of futility among many university people of vaguely radical proclivities is everywhere apparent. But there is no basis for this attitude.

The students and faculty of the University of Washington are beginning to feel the effectiveness of their protests. These protests began in 1955 when 2,000 students and faculty members signed a petition to reverse President Schmidt's decision not to allow Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer to speak on campus. A meeting of protest overflowed a lecture hall. A committee of students went to the state capitol at Olympia to petition the legislators. Dr. Schmidt's ruling was not reversed but a year later Dr. Oppenheimer did speak on campus.

That case broke the ice of fear. The crack has since been widened. Now we have a chance to campaign in the 32nd (University) District on the United Liberals & Socialists slate for the State Senate. In this campaign I will work to keep the crack in the ice from ever freezing over again. I shall do this by campaigning on this slate as a Socialist.

This coalition and our agreement on the specific issues of a truly socialist platform makes possible a considerable advance for all socialist ideas. And it is only socialism that can answer America's problems of war, dislocation in industry and exploitation at home and abroad.

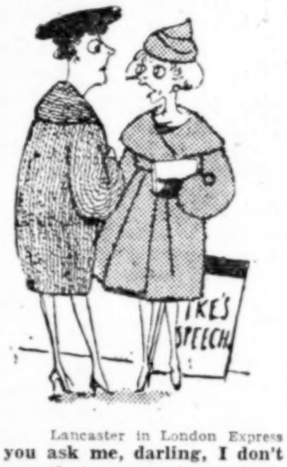
Thomas Jerry Barrett

John Bender

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

Those of us who knew him were very saddened this summer by the death of John Bender of Grants, N. M. He was a devoted reader of the GUARDIAN. Some of his friends in other parts of the country may not know.

Jack & Jean Gore



Lancaster in London Express

"If you ask me, darling, I don't believe that even clever little Randolph Churchill would be able to tell us what President Eisenhower really means."

About Steve Tanderic

CHICAGO, ILL.

The deportation inquisition against Steve Tanderic, trade unionist and tool-maker of Indiana, continues. On Aug. 19, the Court of Appeals upheld the decision of Judge Igoe that Tanderic must be deported to Yugoslavia.

The Tanderic case dramatizes the inhuman treatment of the foreign born in this great "melting pot" of races and nationalities. He was brought to this country by his parents at the age of three. For over 40 years, this has been his ONLY home. Now, the Appellate Court, has ruled that he be deported.

Once before, in March, 1957, Tanderic was ordered to pack his belongings and appear at the airport in a few hours, ready for flight to Yugoslavia, leaving his family and his home behind. Only the prompt action of his attorney, friends and defense committees, prevented his deportation. Tanderic's fight continues.

The Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is sponsoring a testimonial dinner in his honor Oct. 25 at Milda Hall, 3142 So. Halsted St., Chicago.

(Mrs.) Nellie De Schaaf

Change of mind

NORTH BEND, ORE.

A friend gave me a trial subscription and I didn't intend to renew, but two things changed my mind: your willingness to stand up and he counted against the executions of Nagy and Maleter, and your support for independent socialist politics.

M. W. Saling

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Get out, Mr. Dulles!

(Continued from Page 1)

fense Forrestal plunging to his death from a confined hospital room comes to the fore.

Today the grim figure and the tortuous legalisms of John Foster Dulles, the most mistrusted man in the world, are the dominant specter—and we think the time is long overdue for him to get out or be forced out before he accomplishes what seems to be his dedicated mission—to work the American people over the brink into the madness of nuclear war. Perhaps such an act would purge his soul; it would plunge the world into an agony yet unknown to mankind.

ON PAGE SIX OF THIS ISSUE we reprint an advertisement that appeared in the N.Y. **Times** insisting that the President call Congress back into session to lay the whole of our China policy before the elected representatives of the people. We endorse that demand. We hold little confidence in the flaccid collection of nonentities which—with a few honorable exceptions—peoples the Congress today, but we would vastly relish seeing this assemblage face squarely the question of war or peace in the public view only weeks before election.

The entire House and a third of the Senate is up for election. They are aware that our China policy—in fact our whole bent in world affairs—is thoroughly distasteful to the electorate. For the most part they have kept silent, preferring to let the latest—it could be the last—wretched piece of business drag to a conclusion.

But this time they may not be able to do so. Finally the people of America are being roused from the lethargy which has smothered public expression these many years. The **Times** reported on Sept. 27 that thousands of letters have been pouring into the State Dept. since the President and the Secretary of State made their ominous pronouncements on China and that 80% oppose this policy as leading to the danger of war. Every time a new pronouncement is made the critical mail gets heavier.

FOR THE ADMINISTRATION Vice President Nixon declared for all the world to hear that the democratic government of the United States does not consider the expression of public opinion as "the decisive factor in determining the course of policy." Indications of contempt for the public have been frequent in the Truman-Eisenhower years; but such a flagrant expression is rare even for such a type as Nixon.

The very fact of his authorized statement is the best indicator that the people have expressed themselves in a manner that really hit home. The advantage should be pursued to a point where public opinion can really force a change in American policy. If you have been among the thousands who have written, we say congratulations—and keep your ink wet. If you have not yet said your piece, we urge you to do so at once: to the President, to your Congressman and Senators—with a copy to the State Dept. That's the surest way of expressing your total disagreement with Nixon and reasserting your faith in the democratic system of government.

TO COME BACK TO THE CHINESE and how they feel about the situation in the Taiwan Strait: The official Chinese news agency **Hsinhua** said recently: "The crucial issue in Sino-American relations today is not that China wants American recognition but that the U.S. antagonizes the Chinese people, occupies Chinese territory and even wants China to accept the occupation as lawful."

That's putting it directly, and millions of Canadians, Australians, Indians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Swedes and Norwegians see it the same way. And just about the whole world cries out that for Dulles to start a nuclear war for the right to control a few insignificant islands a few miles off the China coast and a few thousand miles off its own coast is total madness.

Add your voice to the demand for sanity.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE TAIWAN STRAIT

'Limited war' or unlimited disaster?

By Elmer Bendiner

ONE OF THE MIGHTIEST war fleets ever assembled now sails within striking distance of China, where one-fourth of the world's population has been fully mobilized, their coastal cities turned into fortresses, their civilians into militiamen. This is the picture in the Taiwan Strait where there are enough explosive forces gathered together to devastate the world. Some statesmen regarding the small flame on the tip of the fuse fatally mistake it for a pilot light to set off only a limited brush-fire.

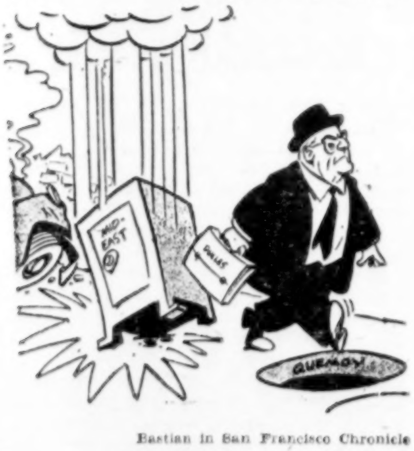
The U.S. Seventh fleet, recently reinforced by units rushed from other quarters of the world, poises 60,000 men, 500 planes and 69 warships geared for nuclear warfare. The major units of the fleet are six carriers: the big attack-carrier Midway; the Essex (only slightly less formidable) and three others of her class, the Hancock, Lexington and Shangri-la; and lastly, the Princeton, fitted for anti-submarine warfare.

THE AIR POWER: On the carrier decks are supersonic jet fighters, Crusaders and Tigers, as well as the somewhat slower but more heavily armed jets, Skywarriors and Skyhawks. Also in the fleet are three heavy cruisers with eight-inch guns, at least one of them armed with guided missiles; 36 destroyers, 20 service and amphibious ships and a division of submarines.

The size of the Air Force in the area is top secret but, since the crisis boiled up, F-104 Starfighters, capable of speeds up to 1,400 mph, have been sent to Taiwan to join a full air group of F-100 Sabrejets. A whole air wing is based in Japan and others wait in Korea, Okinawa and the Philippines. The Strategic Air Command has heavy jet bombers on Guam capable of 660 mph and with a range of 6,000 miles.

In addition to the missile-launching elements of the fleet there is a squadron of Matadors (surface-to-surface guided missiles) on Taiwan with a range of several hundred miles (Taiwan is 110 miles from mainland China across the Strait). Also on Taiwan is one battalion of 48 Nike Hercules missile launchers with a range of 75-100 miles. The Army has two ground force divisions in Korea, another in Hawaii and other forces on Taiwan, Japan and Okinawa, where Marines are also stationed.

RETIRING WARRIORS: The apparent strategy is to rely for ground forces on Chiang Kai-shek. Theoretically he has an army of 650,000 on Taiwan, the Pescadores and the islands along the Chinese coast, but most are pensioners, long past their fighting days. In Chiang's army 81 is the compulsory retirement age and many old veterans use the Army as a U.S.-financed meal ticket. Only recently has the U.S. developed Operation Retser (Retired Servicemen's Program) which, on a $42 million budget, persuades the decrepit battalions tc leave the Army for a public works program.



Bastian in San Francisco Chronicle

Chiang's actual combat force is put at 250,000 ground troops plus 25,000 marines, an 80,000-man air force flying U.S. planes and a navy of 45 vessels manned by 60,000 men. By the end of this year 70% of the fighting units are to be made up of Taiwanese draftees who reportedly lack enthusiasm for a return to a mainland they never came from.

Tillman Durdin of the N.Y. **Times** reported that the Taiwanese regard Chiang's dream of reconquest "as an illusion." Taiwanese have demonstrated mounting impatience with domination by Chiang's troops and officials who have continued the Chiang tradition of corruption. Wilbur Ellston, editorial writer of the Minneapolis **Sunday Tribune**, has warned: "[The Taiwanese] suppressed aspirations are bound to explode into violent convulsions in the near future."

"LIBERATE QUEMOY—MATSU—TAIWAN"
Peking students add their voices to a nation-wide chorus

A VAST WAR BASE: The Chinese **Hsinhua** news agency has been reporting sabotage on Taiwan. Army communication wires have been repeatedly cut. **Hsinhua** said that on August 28 over 100 Taipei women demonstrated in the streets against the take-over of their houses by the Army. The island itself has been converted into a gigantic war base and it has been suggested to dependents of U.S. servicemen that they leave promptly. Heavily guarded convoys sail at night under maximum security regulations amid rumors that they carry nuclear warheads to the air bases.

For Chiang, who has repeatedly said that his only hope is a war that will pit the U.S. against the Chinese on the mainland, this is plainly a now-or-never moment. His lieutenants are jittery at every move away from war. One of his officials bitterly told Robert P. Martin, regional editor of **U.S. News and World Report**: "Give me one good reason why we should trust you when you are trying to make peace at Warsaw."

ON THE MAINLAND: Across the Strait all of China is said to be mobilized in a gigantic "Everyone a Soldier" movement. The Chinese papers report that the entire adult population is in "battle trim," ready for any eventuality from "U.S. aggressors' provocations." In one five-day period some 212,000,000 demonstrated in Chinese cities. In Shanghai alone 1,300,000 took to the streets to show their readiness to fight if need be.

Amoy, opposite the Quemoy islands, has been turned into a fortress, with nearly everyone of eligible age armed. The University of Amoy was recently shelled from Quemoy and the war seems under way in that coastal port. The communes have formed home militia regiments which take their rifles to the farms each day. The militia has sprung up all over the country, prepared for total war. **Hsinhua** said the Chinese were ready "to bury the enemy in the ocean at the call of the bugle."

Richard Crossman, Labor M.P., found the Chinese supremely self-confident and fully prepared for war. He wrote to the London **Mirror** from Peking that Chinese had told him they would win easily and without outside aid if the war involves only conventional weapons. If it develops into a nuclear war China would still survive, they said, adding: "We have nothing to be afraid of. Either way we win."

LAST CHANCE: Crossman said the Chinese were in earnest about negotiations for peace but equally in earnest about using force if negotiations fail. They were also convinced that the U.S. is a "paper tiger" that will fold up in short order. After watching a resistance rally of 2,000,000 people in Peking Crossman wrote:

"This is America's last chance. If Mr. Eisenhower takes it, well and good. If he fails to do so, the Chinese Army will select the time to occupy the islands of Quemoy and Matsu as the first step to the liberation of Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa. If American forces involve themselves in this purely Chinese affair, the sole responsibility for the war that results will rest on the American government . . . I pray that the Americans do not write these warnings off as bluff."

NUCLEAR MISSILES? China's army numbers 3,000,000, not counting the newly formed militia regiments. Some 75,000 troops are now in Fukien province along the coast. China has 2,000 Soviet-made jet fighters and 490 jet light bombers. Only her navy is weak. It is estimated at eight destroyers, 17 gun boats, 25 torpedo boats and 15 submarines. China has more than manpower, morale and conventional weapons, however. She is said to have entered the atomic age in November, 1957, when Mao Tse-tung went to Moscow and signed a military agreement with the Soviet Union.

There have been persistent reports throughout Europe that the Soviet Union has sent China nuclear-armed guided missiles, atomic cannon and small atomic weapons. China has at least one atomic reactor and last spring Kuo Mo Jo, one of China's leading scientists, told the Paris newspaper **Le Monde** that China might soon launch its own sputnik. This year the military academies began training for nuclear war, and in the spring there were discussions concerning "Draconian measures to be taken for modernization of the Chinese army."

KONRAD SIGNS UP: Crossman was only one of the many alarmed statesmen and commentators around the world who wrote that it was up to Britain to convince the Americans that if they go to war over Quemoy and Matsu they go it alone and they cannot win. The Soviet Union has made it plain that she will come in and if she does, all Britain is at once converted to a prime target, thanks to the U.S. missile bases. Washington was reported dismayed that the only ally to come unqualifiedly to its support was Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany, but Secy. Dulles was not deterred.

Columnist Drew Pearson reported last week: "Dulles has agreed to the principle of bombing the mainland—if necessary. Ike has not." It seemed unthinkable that Dulles could walk into an atomic holocaust so cheerily. The only explanation that made sense was that Dulles is convinced this can be a limited war.

LIMITED-WAR THEORY: In August, 1957, Dulles was reported reappraising the "massive retaliation" doctrine. The reappraisal followed publication of Henry Kissinger's book, **Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy**, which outlined the Army's view that limited wars were possible in the nuclear age. Kissinger wrote:

"The purpose of limited war is to inflict losses or pose risks for the enemy out of proportion to the objectives under dispute. The more moderate the objectives [they couldn't be more moderate than Quemoy] the less violent the war is likely to be."

The theory was that both sides in a limited war would have a tacit understanding that national prestige or survival was not in question, neither would insist on unconditional surrender and therefore the cause would not be worth an all-out war.

Col. Ephraim M. Hampton of the Air War College debunked the notion in the Air University **Quarterly Review**: "If war is viewed in its broadest context, there is no such thing as limited war. It does not exist in fact; it is at best a hope and not a reality."

ONE SMALL STEP: If anyone had the notion of a small old-fashioned conventional-arms war in China, there seemed to be less than a hope. Hanson Baldwin, the N.Y. **Times** military expert, wrote last week that China's air fields are so fortified that only nuclear weapons could destroy them. If conventional weapons alone were used, said Baldwin, it would take a far larger force than is now in the area or planned for.

In line with that limited-war theory, Dulles last week told the American people that U.S. forces "may be used more actively in the Taiwan Strait." As he spoke he was contemplating only one small step—like the step that is needed to drop off a high bridge.

Call it Taiwan

BEGINNING with this issue, the GUARDIAN will refer to Formosa by its ancient and official name of Taiwan. The name Formosa was bestowed on the island by Portuguese explorers who were the first Europeans to visit the island in the late 16th Century. The name was accepted by the outside world, but was never recognized by the people or their governments.

Throughout Asia and Africa, colonial and semi-colonial countries have been restoring their original names in place of Western designations. India's Constitution refers to the country by its ancient name, Bharata; Indonesians refer to New Guinea as Irian; the Gold Coast is now called by its early African name, Ghana.

The Taiwan danger

(Continued from Page 1)

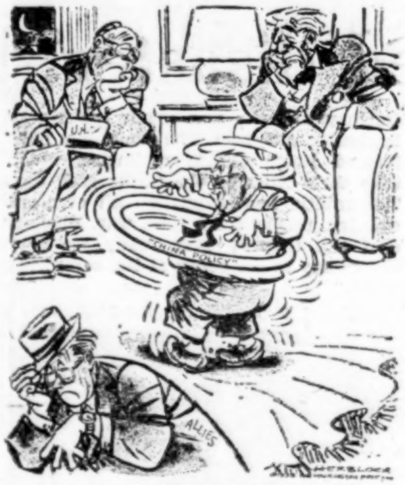
knows what Americans would do if the Chinese Communists were helping a friendly regime on Staten Island."

The point that got lost in the hubbub was that the public seemed to have remarkably good instincts despite an Administration which has been deliberately feeding them dangerous distortions and concealing information adverse to its policy. In a series of Taiwan Strait policy speeches the Administration has insisted on the following points:

- Chiang Kai-shek is the real ruler of China.
- Congress three years ago approved a military alliance with Chiang, empowering the President to decide whether the Chinese offshore islands were vital to the defense of Taiwan and the U.S. itself and the President has now decided that they are.
- The U.S. must forestall UN recognition of Peking because Peking is trying to "shoot its way in" by "aggression" against Quemoy. There is no hope that Peking "would be reformed if it were in the UN"; and, anyway, "the UN is not a reformatory."
- Loss of Quemoy would adversely affect America's NATO partners, who would feel that the U.S. could not be depended on in times of need.

THE BREAKDOWN: All these arguments were demonstrably false, and have been exposed time and again by serious commentators and historians such as Walter Lippmann and Walter Millis. They were most recently exposed in an eloquent and devastating letter to the **Times** (Sept. 28) by Lewis Mumford, author of **The Conduct of Life** and **The Transformation of Man** and other books. Here are composite replies to the Administration arguments:

- The Chiang government, as Mumford said, "is not a government at all, but a displaced army [which is] kept in existence [by the Administration] with the expressed and declared purpose . . . to 'unleash' it against the de facto government of China [while] Taiwan serves as a base for American nuclear forces openly threatening the Chinese mainland."
- Even after being bullied into ratifying the U.S.-Chiang treaty, Congress stipulated, as Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) noted, that "any mutual agreement over the Quemoys and the Matsus would be brought back to the Senate for ratification." On Feb. 7, 1955, Dulles said that extending Chiang's defense to Quemoy "would in practical terms amount to an amendment of the treaty and should be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent." Morse said last week that if the President and Dulles persisted in "warlike action" over Quemoy without consulting Congress, "they should be impeached."



Herblock in Washington Post

"Five years, eight months and two days—five years, eight months and three days—"

- The Administration was being "both hypocritical and false," as Mumford said, in opposing UN recognition of Peking by calling Peking an "aggressor" because it was trying to recover Quemoy. He noted that by keeping Peking out of the UN "we have deprived the Communist government of any constitutional means of redressing their grievance, or of lifting the menace of our own nuclear bases. When they seek to find a way out, by the only means we have left at China's disposal, our government loftily reproaches them with aggression."
- Dulles, who now prescribes UN membership qualifications for other nations, wrote in 1950 in his book **War or Peace:** "The UN will best serve the cause of peace if its Assembly is representative of what the world actually is, and not merely representative of the party we like." He has accepted UN membership for fascist Spain but balks at socialist China.
- It is not the likelihood of the "loss of Quemoy" but war over Quemoy precipitated by the U.S. which chills America's NATO partners. While they dutifully voted with the U.S. to keep Peking out of the UN, Britain and France, for example, have let it be known they will not be involved in a fight over Quemoy. Canada's Foreign Minister Sidney Smith prepared a speech with the statement that this would be the last time his country would vote against UN membership for Peking. He was forced to delete the statement after U.S. pressure.

HEADED FOR UN? Last week's Gallup poll asked this question: "Would you like to see the UN work out a solution to [the Taiwan Strait] problem before we get more involved in a military way?" The response: 91% in favor; 6% were against, 3% no opinion.

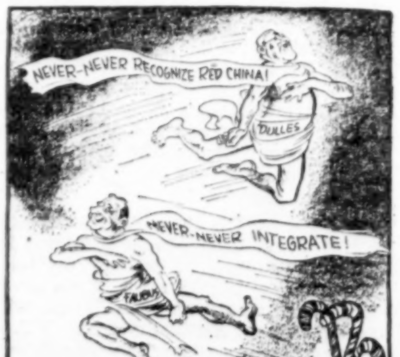
More and more it seemed that the issue was headed for the UN. India and some other nations were still trying to modify the inflexible position of the U.S., to give the Warsaw conference a chance of success; but such modification seemed hopeless in the light of Dulles' statement that the U.S. must draw "an unflinching line" and meet Peking's challenge "directly and at the beginning."

Many UN delegations felt that an Assembly discussion might lead to a foreign ministers' conference similar to the one that brought a truce to Vietnam. But there were obstacles to successful negotiations through the UN, as well. The U.S. has indicated that it would keep trying to get the UN to declare Peking an "aggressor." They could not succeed, but they could force a deadlock.

"STUMBLING TO WAR": Another obstacle was noted by Ambassador Thant of Burma, who lamented the fact that the U.S., while "praising the UN as the most effective instrument of international conciliation, [kept] China out of it." He added: "Without recognition, negotiations are impossible, and without negotiations the UN will stumble from crisis to crisis until we stumble into war."

Short of U.S. recognition of Peking, a negotiated peace in the Taiwan Strait would require a reversal of Washington's pro-Chiang policy and its acceptance of Peking's right to at least the offshore islands and UN recognition of the Chinese People's Republic.

"The real problem the American people must face," Lewis Mumford said, "is that of withdrawing from the fatal commitments that, step by step, have brought us to the brink of a world catastrophe."


NEVER-NEVER RECOGNIZE RED CHINA!
DULLES
NEVER-NEVER INTEGRATE!
FAUBUS

Long in Minneapolis Tribune

NEVER-NEVER LAND

* * *

Some questions about U.S. policy

IN THE LIGHT of the anti-American feeling in many parts of the world, it behooves those of us who love our nation to pause, step back, and take an honest look at ourselves. Is Communist propaganda responsible for all of the adverse feeling expressed against the U.S., or are we really failing to live up to the ideals and traditions which have inspired so many of the world's struggling people? There is no simple answer to this question, but perhaps we can gain some insight into the problem by looking at some of the searching questions which are being put to America and Americans by people in all parts of the world.

- "We agree with your condemnation of Russian colonialism and exploitation, but why do you not speak out against the colonialism and exploitation of your allies?"
- "What right do you have to rope off a large section of the ocean in order to explode bombs which are contaminating OUR land, water, and air?"
- "If you believe in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, as you say, why is your criterion for the help you give other nations the threat of communism rather than the threat of continuing starvation, ignorance, and human misery?"
- "If your nation is sincere in wanting disarmament, why are you considering giving equipment and information to your 47 military allies which would assist them in producing nuclear weapons?"
- "Why have you refused to be re-elected to the UN Commission on Commodity Trade, if you really wish to help solve the economic problems faced by other nations in your hemisphere and around the world?"
- "How can you say that you are opposed to the ruthless tactics of totalitarian dictatorships when you are giving such men your economic and military support on every continent?"

—Scrapbook of the American Friends Service Committee, June, 1958

* * *

The gentle, gay cut-throat

MAYLING SOONG CHIANG, wife of the Generalissimo of the Offshore Islands, has been a busy little beaver in her four months in the U.S. She has addressed the American Legion convention in Chicago, the American Bar Assn. convention in Los Angeles, received an honorary degree at the U. of Michigan, spoken before the Natl. Press Club in Washington and on NBC-TV's Meet the Press. There have been scads of interviews too, with a captivated press describing the 'Missimo as gay, charming, witty and gentle.

About this last point, Eleanor Roosevelt in her memoirs tells a gay and charming story about a dinner party at the White House with Mme. Chiang. The First Lady had told FDR she thought Mme. Chiang was a sweet, and rather pathetic, figure. At the time FDR was having his troubles with John L. Lewis and during the dinner he turned to Mme. Chiang and said: "What would you do in China with a labor leader like John L. Lewis?" Mrs. Roosevelt recalled:

"She never said a word, but the beautiful small hand came up very quietly and slid across her throat—a most expressive gesture. Franklin went right on talking but he looked across at me to make sure that I had seen the gesture."

In this spirit the 'Missimo has been slicing a propaganda swath through the U.S. with these pronouncements:

- On the offshore islands: "We are going to do our own fighting, not the U.S. In fact we don't want you to fight for us."
- On conditions in China: "Hunger and depression have caused uprisings of greater dimensions than in Hungary."
- On neutralism: "The U.S. should not countenance the neutralist nations because to do so would weaken the will of the people who are fighting against communism."
- On trade with socialist nations: "The great potential of the Russian Empire market is a chimera."
- On whether Asians have not resented the fact that nuclear weapons have been used exclusively against Asians: "Well, I have not heard that." Nuclear weapons, she said, should be used against the mainland if the fighting spreads.

Asked by a reporter whether her visit here was official, she demurred but added: "I am my husband's wife."

Any doubters?

* * *

CINCINNATI PASTOR

McCrackin's fast

THE REV. Maurice McCrackin, pastor of the West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas Church, who has refused to pay taxes because they are used for military purposes, began to fast last week "for enduring peace between all nations" and "for the practice of reconciliation and true brotherhood in our own land."

As he began his fast, during which he will take only water, U.S. Commissioner Graham P. Hunt after a 10-minute hearing ordered his case to the Grand Jury on a charge of ignoring a summons from the Internal Revenue Service. The Rev. McCrackin had served notice in advance that he would not attend the hearing. On Sept. 10 he refused to answer a summons and on Sept. 12 Internal Revenue agents had to carry the pastor bodily to a hearing.

Rev. McCrackin has not paid Federal taxes for ten years and since 1955 he has not filed a return. He is free without bail and no move has been made to arrest him. He has been supported in his stand by most of his congregation and the staff of the Findlay St. Neighborhood House which he directs. His church is a joint Presbyterian-Episcopalian institution.

NEW YORK STATE CAMPAIGN

Independents' ballot status turns on 27 of 27,000 names

DISPUTED nominating petitions involving only 27 signatures out of a total of 27,000 stood between New York State's Independent-Socialist candidates and a place on the ballot as the GUARDIAN went to press.

The state election law requires a total of 12,000 signatures of registered voters with a minimum of 50 in each of the state's 62 counties. Objections instituted by the State Democratic machine had challenged the validity of signatures in ten N.Y. counties.

At a preliminary hearing Sept. 29 in Albany, the Independent-Socialist petitions were declared valid in all but three of the challenged counties. In one, Yates County, only one signature required substantiation to validate the required fifty. In Wayne Co., seven needed signatures were in dispute; and in Schoharie Co., 19. Objections to the signatures were highly technical, such as failure of the witness to initial minor clerical alterations on the petition form, such as substituting the witness's full home address for the word "same" where the address was called for twice in the form.

DECISION SOON: Decision on the disputed petitions was expected later in the week. If the decision is unfavorable to the candidates, a court proceeding instituted by the candidates Sept. 15, at the time the objections were filed, will bring the dispute into the state Supreme Court. N.Y. Secy. of State Carmine De Sapio, Tammany leader, directed by court order to show cause why the Independent-Socialist candidates should not be certified, has objected to the order on the ground that he had been improperly served. Service had been accepted and receipted by the same subordinate official who accepted and receipted the Independent-Socialist petitions when they were filed Sept. 9.

In other challenges in the state, 16,000 petitions filed for candidates of the Socialist Labor Party were found insufficient in preliminary hearing and refusal of the N.Y. County Board of Elections to certify some 6,000 signatures filed by Communist leader Benjamin J. Davis was before the state Supreme Court on constitutional objections raised by Davis.

Henry Abrams, Independent-Socialist state chairman, called the rejection of Davis' petitions "outrageous" in a statement calling for scrapping the state's "restrictive discriminatory" election provisions now governing nomination efforts by new and minor political parties.

Meanwhile, the Independent-Socialist candidates were already campaigning. Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senator, received equal time with other Senatorial candidates on the Fannie Hurst TV program and spoke with the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, on the New York City Municipal radio station, WNYC. John T. McManus, candidate for Governor, spoke on WNYC and appeared on the Dave Garroway morning TV program on Channel 4, the NBC network. Other radio and TV appearances were being scheduled for the candidates, including Scott K. Gray Jr. for Attorney-General and Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac for Comptroller, and a state tour was in preparation covering the major cities of the state in mid-October.

WALL STREET JOURNAL

Wall Street Journal
"I'd like a word with you, Fermage."

WASHINGTON: Accepting the nomination of the United Liberals and Socialists Party for U.S. Senator from Washington, Pension Union attorney Jay Sykes said:

"I consider myself a liberal in the literal sense—one dedicated to freedom, equality, liberty and human rights. The fact that others like Senators Kennedy, Neuberger and Jackson and the New York Liberal Party also call themselves 'liberals' and have pre-empted and corrupted the term doesn't mean I should give it up any more than I feel that the many fundamentally non-socialists who call themselves 'socialists' should force the true socialists into abandoning that designation for themselves."

The United Socialists and Liberals put a ticket of four candidates on the ballot Sept. 9 under a Washington law enabling minority parties to nominate candidates on Primary Day by holding a convention of at least 100 voters.

Jack Wright, Molders Union member, nominated for State Senate for the 37th District, announced Washington anti-labor Initiative 202 as his principal target. Mrs. Clyde Carter, candidate for State Representative from the 33rd District, welcomed the advent of the new party "as a Negro and as the mother of a 10-year-old son." She said the ticket offered Washington voters an alternative to voting for a "lesser evil" or not voting. The fourth candidate, Thomas J. Barrett, for State Senate from the 32nd District, is a University of Washington graduate student. (See letter, p. 2.)

JOHN T. McMANUS
The campaign is on

WISCONSIN: In Wisconsin a total of 11,000 signatures were filed Sept. 22 nominating James E. Boulton for U.S. Senator and Wayne Leverenz for Governor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Boulton was the SWP candidate for Senate in 1952 against the late Joseph R. McCarthy.

Leverenz, a member of the United Packinghouse Workers Union, was recently reinstated to full rights in the union on the initiative of its international president, Ralph Helstein, after having been removed from union posts for alleged violation of the Ethical Practices Code. Leverenz' offense was that he argued for elimination of an anti-Red clause in the proposed merger constitution for a Wisconsin AFL-CIO. Leverenz has been a leader in the Wisconsin Sobell Committee.

NIEBUHR AND THOMAS SIGN APPEAL

Freedom now urged for Green, Winston; Denver Smith Act case up for new trial

WHILE FEDERAL prosecutors in Denver prepared to retry the seven Colorado Smith Act cases in November, Federal Judge Frank A. Picard in Detroit threw out the cases against the six Michigan defendants because of insufficient evidence for retrial. The Detroit judge acted under the Supreme Court decision throwing out the California cases last year, following which most prosecutions under the Act's conspiracy have been terminated.

Letters were urged to the Attorney-General in Washington demanding an end to all pending Smith Act proceedings.

Meanwhile the Smith Act Families Committee in Chicago sought a national campaign to free Gil Green and Henry Winston, now serving sentences which could total eight years each as members of the original Foley Square Eleven convicted in 1949 of "conspiracy to teach and advocate" violent overthrow of the government. Green and Winston forfeited bail and failed to appear for sentencing when the Supreme Court ruled against the Foley Square defendants in 1951.

UP FOR PAROLE: When they surrendered voluntarily in 1956, extra three-year sentences for contempt of court were tacked on their original five-year sentences. Their appeal from the contempt sentences failed by a 5-4 Supreme Court split and they have now served 30 months each in prison. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court's "second look" last year has in effect invalidated all Smith Act prosecutions by declaring insufficient the type of evidence presented to obtain the convictions.

Green and Winston are eligible for parole next month, and both will apply. Meanwhile a group of 34 persons last week sent a letter to President Eisenhower urging executive clemency for them. Headed by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and Norman Thomas, the group included C. C. Burlingham, 100-year-old dean of the New York bar; Joseph L. Rauh Jr., chairman of Americans for Democratic Action; Alonzo F. Myers; Dorothy Kenyon; Stanley Isaacs, New York City Council minority leader (Republican); Clarence Pickett; Howard Fast; Dorothy Dunbar Walker and many distinguished clergymen.

The Families Committee (189 W. Madison, Chicago 2, Suite 811) urges letters to the U.S. Board of Parole, H.O.L.C. Building, Room 420, First and D Streets N.W., Washington, D.C., urging that the men be freed under parole when they become eligible, if amnesty has not been granted first. A $5-a-plate Parole Dinner was to be held at Hotel Hamilton in Chicago on Oct. 5.

ONLY TWO IN JAIL: Ammunition for such letters is suggested in an article by Richard Blake in the New York Worker for Sept. 21. Blake points out that 3,475 Federal prisoners were granted parole in 1957. Fifty-seven percent of the applications from those jailed for bribery were granted, 62% from those violating bankruptcy laws, and 75% from those jailed for embezzlement. Thirty-one per cent of white slavers applying were paroled, 21% of forgers, 37% of kidnappers and 77% of conscientious objectors.

There have been no paroles of Smith Act prisoners; all have served full sentences with normal time off for good behavior. Green and Winston are the only two still in jail.

FIGHT FOR JOBS

IUE convention rejects UE bid for united action

WITH THOUSANDS of electrical workers laid off and with crucial negotiations stymied at General Electric, president Albert Fitzgerald of the independent United Electrical Workers called for a conference of all unions in the field to work out a common program.

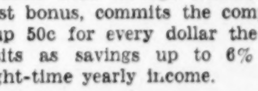
The proposal came in a letter from Fitzgerald to James B. Carey, president of the AFL-CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, beginning: "Dear Sir and Brother." No formal reply came from Carey but when a reporter queried him about the letter Carey said he was not inclined "to deal with the GE's ally, the UE." A more explicit answer came from the IUE convention in Philadelphia which unanimously approved a resolution calling for continuing raids on the UE.

An IUE official boasted to the convention that 40 UE stewards and officers had shown up at the convention's open house. UE spokesmen scoffed at the report. When asked to comment on IUE's renewed declaration of war, Julius Emspak, UE secretary-treasurer, said it was "like the wars the Administration has been trying to start—lots of fireworks but no success." He said the UE would continue to press for unity on a rank-and-file basis and indicated that the rank-and-file answer was far different from Carey's.

IUE SET-BACK: IUE negotiations with GE received a sharp set-back in recent weeks when locals in GE plants in Schenectady, N.Y., and Lynn, Mass., voted against a strike. One IUE official attributed the vote to "workers' fears of being laid off or losing their jobs. There has been a series of layoffs in Schenectady over the past three years."

In his letter Fitzgerald said the no-strike votes did not necessarily "preclude a successful fight for jobs and job security." Estimating that 40,000 GE workers and almost 20,000 Westinghouse workers are "out in the street," Fitzgerald said the UE was proposing a reduction of five hours in the work week with no reduction in pay. This, he said, would "bring back the jobs of 50,000 GE and Westinghouse workers."

His letter pointed out that GE was making the most of labor's divisions. The company has broken off negotiations with the IUE and by way of countering the demand for raises and a shorter week, has offered a "savings and security program." The plan, a combination of a Christmas Club savings scheme with a modest bonus, commits the company to put up 50c for every dollar the worker deposits as savings up to 6% of his straight-time yearly income.



PARADOX: The UE has said it might accept the plan if it also got the shorter work week at no loss of pay. In proposing a joint strategy, UE's Fitzgerald warned the IUE that "it is wholly unrealistic to propose that any serious struggle of GE workers can be mounted by any one union around issues that would neither secure the job of any GE worker now employed, nor bring back the job of any GE worker now laid off." On the other hand, Fitzgerald said, it was possible "by pooling their collective strength to achieve a real breakthrough in collective bargaining in 1958."

The exchange between the unions followed a paradoxical pattern set in recent years in which the independent persistently calls for unity and the united labor movement fights like mad for maximum disunity.

ADVERTISEMENT

CALL CONGRESS AT ONCE MR. PRESIDENT!

Mr. President:

The United States now finds itself in a position in which it can at any moment be committed to an utterly insane and disastrous war by a single rash act on the part of either faction in a Chinese civil conflict.

We consider this an intolerable situation.

Without arguing the merits or defects of our past bipartisan policy with respect to the Nationalist-Communist struggle in China, we point out two facts:

1. Our policy has been and is at variance with that of our major anti-Communist allies and inconsistent with both government and popular opinion in practically all of the crucially important uncommitted nations.

2. Our policy has remained static and inflexible throughout a decade in which profound changes have taken place and during which China—ten years ago a weak, strife-torn impoverished nation—has emerged into a highly organized, powerful state comprising one-quarter of the world's population.

We profoundly regret that this change has come about under a ruthless Communist dictatorship, but our regret cannot alter the facts.

We emphasize that the radically modified circumstances have brought about no change whatever in a policy based upon the contention that the exiled Nationalist regime at Taipei is still the legitimate government of China and upon the hope of its restoration to power on the mainland.

We point out further that Chiang Kai-shek, to whom we are at present committed, rejects any and all settlements which would neutralize either the offshore islands or Taiwan itself; and that our commitment to support his position renders it impossible for us to come to any sort of peaceable settlement with the Chinese People's Republic.

It seems evident that a continuation of our present policy can lead only to a war in which the United States will have few if any effective allies, or to the indefinite protraction of a state of affairs in which the United States can at any moment be plunged into such a war by an act or decision other than its own. We are not persuaded that there is no alternative to this policy except "appeasement" or surrender.

We therefore feel justified in demanding that the whole of our China policy and all questions incident to our involvement in the Chinese civil conflict be laid before our elected representatives in the Congress, in whom the Constitution vests the power to decide upon war or peace.

We feel that the American people owe it to themselves and to humanity to decide upon their course by the democratic process, rather than leaving the decision of life or death either to their own Executive or to the unpredictable actions of one faction or another in a quarrel within a foreign country.

We urgently request that you call the Congress into immediate session.

SIGN HERE ....

Public protest by the undersigned against the present United States policy in the Far Eeast has elicited a nation-wide response asking for constructive leadership. The foregoing message to the President is offered as a suggestion.

THOSE WHO AGREE WITH THIS MESSAGE CAN:

1. **Clip out this advertisement, sign it and obtain other signatures, sending it either to the President or, better yet, to the President and to their two Senators and their Representative.**
2. **Form a group to run a similar advertisement in other newspapers:***
3. **Make whatever financial contribution they wish toward the further dissemination of this message.**

JAMES P. WARBURG, 70 E. 45th St., New York 17, N.Y.

**This ad is reprinted in its entirety from the N.Y.* Times *of Sept 25, 1958, by Standard Brand Distributors, 143 Fourth Av., and a group of public-spirited GUARDIAN readers. While they do not agree wholly with Warburg's views, they feel that his call to the President to reconvene Congress warrants immediate public concurrence. Warburg, a New Deal Democrat and expert in foreign affairs, was a critic of President Truman's foreign policies and continued to be critical of the Eisenhower-Dulles policy.*

MOSCOW NINE YEARS AFTER—II

How Soviet capital influences the East

By Anna Louise Strong

Special to the Guardian

(Second of two articles)

MOSCOW

WHEN I HAD my medical check-up in the Kremlin Clinic before taking a month's needed rest, I met several people I knew. Down the hall before me to the electro-cardiogram went a tall, dignified Indian official whom I had last seen speaking in Stockholm on behalf of the Indian delegation. Next day, after an inhalation for laryngitis, I ran into one of the Arab leaders.

So I thought: where would Asian leaders go for medical treatment if their own nation lacked facilities of the latest style? Mme. Chiang Kai-shek goes to the U.S., but that is expensive in travel and treatment. Moscow is only a seven-hour flight from Delhi; you can stop over on the way to Stockholm.

NATURAL CENTER: Medicine is only one of the many things that Asians begin to come to Moscow for Geography makes this a natural center for today's developing Asia with which America can only with difficulty compete. Russja has assisted geography by jet-planes that reach major nations on the continent in a matter of hours.

Americans, who automatically expected that they would show Asians the path to the future, should realize that there are many ways in which Moscow has the edge. Some of these have not even been noticed and yet are important.

Thirty years ago we read of the dozens of new alphabets the Soviets developed for backward peoples who had never known the printed word. It seemed a gracious and even extravagant gesture to vanishing tribes who would soon learn Russian anyway. It was much more than that; it was a weapon to penetrate Asia.

MOST EXPERIENCED: I learned from a writer at the Writers Rest House that dozens of once-backward tribes now produce literature; the Soviet Writers Union has members writing in more than 50 languages and prides itself on creating "a brotherhood of culture unlike anything that ever existed in the world."

Any Asian land, whether large like India and China or small like Vietnam, contains many minor nationalities. Facing the task today of educating their many backward peoples, these Asian lands find perhaps that some of their minor nationalities have already an alphabet invented by Moscow . . . In any case they find Moscow the most experienced teacher in the art of producing education for backward peoples.

WHICH INFLUENCE: On higher levels also the U.S.S.R. is a cultural stimulus. I pick up the morning paper and note that an Afro-Asian Film Festival is going on in Tashkent. The peoples of Asia and Africa are not waiting for Hollywood. They are making their own films. Twenty-two such countries are now meeting in Tashkent to compare methods and achievements.

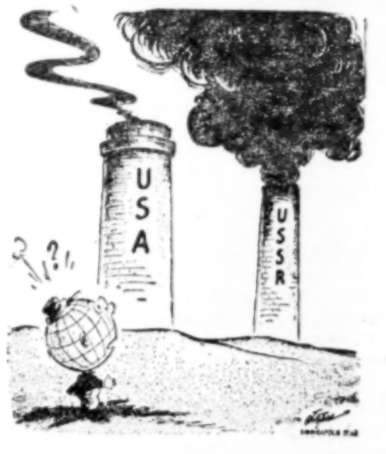
Yesterday they showed Pakistani films, today Ceylon and Turkmenia. Critics noted that Pakistan films deal much in moral and religious comments on family relations. Thirty years ago the Uzbeks, for whom Tashkent is the capital, were going through that stage. Men were murdering their wives for the crime of unveiling Today, the Uzbek women are equal with men; they take part in public affairs.

Pakistan is an ally of the U.S., bringing the penetration of American guns into the heart of Asia, much to the distress of India. Which influence will most affect the Pakistan people: the guns from America or the movies from Uzbekistan, a land just north of them where dark-skinned folk of their own Moslem religion have solved the problems that most worry today the Pakistani?

IMPORTANCE OF TASHKENT: Tashkent is a very useful showcase for Asians. It lies right in the middle of Asia about equidistant from Asia's three great capitals: Moscow, Peking and Delhi. It is a Moslem land of a once-suppressed nation, which today has not only government of its own but modern industry, schools, medicine.

Tashkent is worth watching; it seems to be a place especially picked for Afro-Asian congresses. A Congress of Afro-Asian writers is called for Tashkent in the first week of October. To most Africans and Asians Moscow is still a chilly northern capital of the white race. Tashkent, hot, sunny, dark-skinned, is like being at home.

From Tashkent, however, many of them go on to Moscow and the rest of the Soviet land. They see peasants like their own who yesterday used wooden ploughs and hand sickles but today drive tractors and operate combines. They see great dams, mighty industrial plants, rapidly built housing. The finish is not perhaps as good as the American; but it operates, and it is available for Asians in return for the products they make, without difficult dollars.



The Minneapolis Star

Nor does Moscow demand military alliances and bases as a price for its trade and long-term credits. That is important.

MATTER OF COLOR: Even more important perhaps in the competition for influence in Asia and Africa is the Russian attitude towards color, symbolized in an event this week. A photo on Pravda's front page shows Nikita Khrushchev, chief of government and of the party, chatting with Paul Robeson. It is explained that Khrushchev, now on vacation, dropped in to call on Paul Robeson and his wife, Eslanda, at the sanitarium in the Crimea where they were staying, and that a group of Young Pioneers from the famous Artek Camp also came and put on a performance of songs and dances for everyone.

Now Paul Robeson is perhaps the world's most famous Negro. He is symbolically massive, muscular and black. And every literate person in Africa knows that he has been refused a passport by the U.S. State Dept. for years. But here in the U.S.S.R. the chief of state goes to call on him, not for a formal interview but for an informal social visit.

Since neither Russians nor Africans are stupid, I assume that photograph will be published all over the Dark Continent. I almost feel sorry for Mr. Dulles. No wonder he held that passport back. For that one photo may do more to win the Africans and influence their policy than all the painfully composed notes of Mr. Dulles in years.

THE TENDER WARRIORS SPEAK

Little Rock students are ready for the test

By Louis E. Burnham

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

A VETERAN TALKS IT OVER WITH TWO NEW WARRIORS
Jefferson Thomas (c), who attended Central High last term, shows one of his books to Kay Mott, 16 (l.) and Sandra Johnson, 14, who hope to attend this term.

SUPPOSE YOU WERE a Negro American, a teen-ager and a resident of Little Rock, Ark. What would you do?

Along with more than 3,500 other high school students, Negro and white, you've already missed a month of schooling, and you're eager to get started. Last term you graduated from all-Negro Dunbar Junior High. You've looked forward to the tougher studies and to mingling with the bigger boys and girls in high school. You're growing up.

Ordinarily there'd be no question: you'd go to Horace Mann High as Negro youth have done for years. But you know the Supreme Court said you can go to Central, which was all-white until a year ago. Would you?

You remember the horror and humiliation suffered by the nine brave Negro youth who attended Central High last year—taunts, threats, blows, spit every livelong school day. You know your parents may be fired from their jobs, the phone will be ringing constantly and white fellow-citizens will shout obscene threats. They might bomb your house; they tried it last year on Mrs. Daisy Bates, NAACP leader, and did smash her window with stones.

You don't have to decide this minute. It may be weeks—or months—before Gov. Faubus' "private" school set-up is thrown out [see story, p. 1] and integrated public schools restored. Then there'll be six of last year's nine Tender Warriors returning to Central. Since the school board's integration is so gradual there's likely to be only a handful more to join them. You could be one. Or you could break new ground at the other white high schools, Hall and Tech.

What would you do? Would you go?

Seven Negro young people of Little Rock have said yes. Recently five of them told the GUARDIAN why.

DOLORES ANN POINDEXTER tried to enter Central last year but was turned down with the promise that she could transfer from Horace Mann in January. She decided against the mid-year transfer. She will apply again and expects that School Supt. Blossom will keep his word. Ann (her friends have dropped the Dolores) will be a senior this year. She has an unaffected charm and an artless beauty which few girls achieve either side of her 17 years of age.

"Why," we asked, "do you want to transfer to Central when you have only a year to go?" The answer, as with all the other students, was in two parts. She had the right to equality of opportunity, a right guaranteed by the Constitution. But more than that, she wanted some instruction in speech and drama before going on to college, since she plans to major in this field. Central High offers the courses she wants; Horace Mann does not. Further, Central is eight blocks from her home, while the all-Negro school is two miles away, on the other side of town.

Ann, though born in Little Rock, has traveled quite a bit. Before her father died in 1947, the family lived in Clarksdale and Vicksburg, Miss., where Rev. Lonnie P. Poindexter was pastor of churches of the African Methodist Episcopal denomination. This past summer Ann attended the Brotherhood, USA, Encampment at Idlewild Pines, Calif. There, for a week, she lived "without any prejudice, hate or discrimination." She met youth of many colors and creeds—Buddhist, Jewish, Catholic, Protestant. It was her most thrilling experience.

Back in Little Rock she plunged into the ceaseless round of activities which consumes her energies. At Bethel AME Church ("I'm there every time the door opens") she practiced the organ, played for the junior choir, was a leader of youth groups. She also took part in interracial youth meetings sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, the Council on Human Relations and others.

Would she become an actress? No, a dramatics teacher. Her favorite film stars are Dorothy Dandridge, Lena Horne and Tony Curtis. At home she relaxes with the cool jazz of West Coast modernists. For her, Dave Brubeck is "the most." As we left, Ann turned to the piano and started to play an old tune, "Until the Real Thing Comes Along."

SANDRA JOHNSON, at 14, is a pert and talkative sophomore. Her father is a skilled brick-mason and the family has traveled widely to keep up with his jobs. They have lived in Boulder, Colo., and Monrovia and Duarte, Calif. Interracial schooling, therefore, is nothing new to Sandra. She wants to go to Central because "I'm an American citizen and I feel I have the same right to go as anybody else." Central is nearer her home and, she said, has 26 courses that Horace Mann does not offer.

At Junior High last year Sandra was voted Queen of Dunbar. She was a high-capering leader of the drum majorettes and, as a "sheriffette," she helped keep order in the lunch room. She has packed dancing, singing and piano lessons into her 14 years, intends to go to college and work 'as a private secretary or a leader of the NAACP."

LARRY COLLINS is also 14, but he's as quiet as Sandra is voluble. He pauses in careful contemplation before answering questions and must have thought long and hard before deciding to apply at Central. Last year he was a monitor and played trumpet in the Dunbar band. He likes swimming and fishing and was proud of a foot-long bass he caught during summer vacation at Dallas, Tex. The fish came out of a lake at a camp conducted by the B'hai movement. Larry recalls that when he got off the train he was met by a group of friendly white people. At the camp they ate, swam, fished together. They talked of love, not hate, and the experience helped shape a new attitude in Larry: "I learned not to hate them because of color, but to like them more."

Larry Collins wants to be a civil engineer and thinks Central High is the best place for him to get started. If anything unpleasant happens there, he said, "I just won't pay it any attention; I'll just go on minding my own business." He felt that white and Negro youngsters would get along all right "if some of the older folks would just stay out of it." He didn't say, but we felt we knew which "older folks" he meant.

KAY MOTT is Sandra Johnson's good friend and neighbor. It was she who first persuaded Sandra to apply for Central. And now, still wanting to go, she isn't quite sure she'll make it.

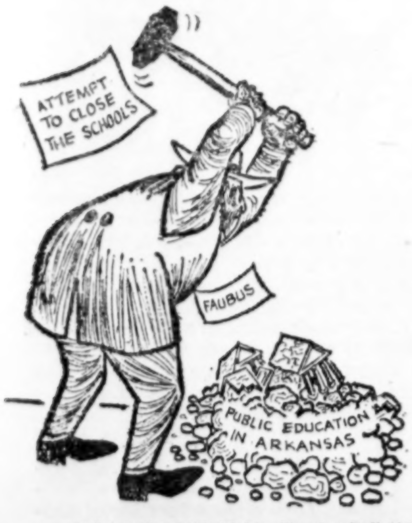
The factors which must be reckoned with before a Negro youth walks into Supt. Blossom's office and says, "I want to register at Central High," are delicate and complex. The student must want to go; recommendations must be gotten from teachers at Horace Mann; parents must be convinced. Kay thought all these problems were solved. But the Governor has talked of blood in the streets and his people are seizing each day to increase tension and guarantee, if possible, violent opposition to integration. Now Kay must re-convince the folks at home that it's the sensible thing to do.

She's disappointed, but thinks they'll come around and that she'll spend her last two years at Central. She wants to be a social worker but spends most of her spare time now writing poems and short stories. In a voice so musical as to be almost fragile, she quickly gets to the heart of every question. "I want to go to Central," she said, "to exercise my rights as a United States citizen."

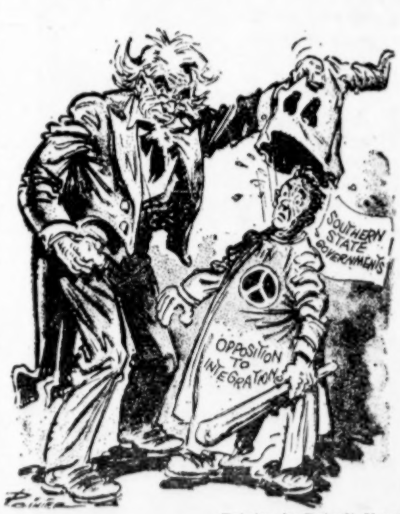
CAROLYN WARD, if accepted, will be a pioneer at Hall High. No Negro has ever attended before. She has counted the blocks from her home to Horace Mann (166) and to Hall (16). Aside from distance, she prefers Hall because "I believe I can get a better education." Five younger brothers and sisters alternately played, did homework and giggled at the idea that big sister Carolyn, 15 years old, was having an interview with a reporter. But Carolyn took it all in stride, shooed them away from time to time, and answered questions quietly and slowly.

Her mother, Mrs. Josephine Kendrick, made it plain that it was Carolyn's idea to apply. "She wants to go," she said. "Her father and I feel that we'd like to support her and we're willing to take the pressures or whatever comes from this. We're just trusting and having faith in God that everything will come out all right for her." Before we left, Mrs. Kendrick, an active leader in PTA and community service groups, read for us a poem she had recently written. Its title was: "God Bless America Today."

These five youth and two others may soon be on the hottest domestic firing line in the battle for American democracy. If you were in their place, would you go?



Callahan in Philadelphia Evening Bulletin
"If you can't lick 'em, smash 'em."



Poinier in Detroit News
All dressed up and no place to go!

Oregon group: No aid to Chiang!

THE OREGON CHAPTER of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action in a two-day conference in Portland last month called for withdrawal of Chiang Kai-shek's U.S.-supported forces from China's offshore islands.

The resolution was part of a full peace program worked out by the conference which met in nine separate sessions. Close to 100 delegates from 12 cities in Oregon and Washington attended. Other recommendations agreed upon were:

Dismantle U.S. bases abroad and withdraw U.S. troops from overseas; defeat "right-to-work" legislation; abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee; end the "use of the FBI as a political police," and repeal such legislation as the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Walter-McCarran Act of 1952.

The conference called for a halt to deportation for political views or associations and particularly protested proceedings against David Hyun, Korean architect of Los Angeles, William and Hamish MacKay of Oregon and Hazel Wolf of Washington.

On international affairs the conference demanded the immediate and permanent cessation of nuclear testing with or without international agreements, recognition of the People's Republic of China, its admission to the UN and the removal of all trade and travel limitations.

The delegates commended the State Dept. for its student exchange program and made plans to send a strong Oregon delegation to the 1959 Youth Festival in Vienna. They also urged that China, India, Japan and the Soviet Union be invited to participate in the Oregon Centennial program next year.

BOOKS

J. D. Bernal's 'Science in History'

WHEN AN IMPORTANT and supposedly difficult subject produces an English spokesman who humanizes the material in a work that has been kept from the American public apparently because he is a dissenter (in this case a forthright Marxist), the need for a widely circulating minority press becomes critical. Liberty Book Club is meeting this need with scientist J. D. Bernal's fascinating **Science in History.***

Liberty has divided what was originally a 1,000-page tome into two books for its October and December selections respectively, at $3 each to members (with a $12 one-volume trade edition to follow).

It is always heartening to meet a man in a book whose immense learning is matched by his humanity. In our perplexed times it is particularly good to have a Bernal to take a place beside Einstein, Haldane, Shapley and Pauling in giving the people an accounting of their all-too-obscure specialties. This is a remarkably complete narrative of man's long struggle toward knowledge, presented in an unstrained and often humorous and witty style. And for this reader there are odd new bits of lore and new insights on almost every page.

A FEW QUOTATIONS will show the humorous qualities and sharp eye that Bernal brings to this panorama.

The priests of the early temples directed the agricultural work and appropriated a large share of the crops. "The table of the god had to be well supplied. The exalted god naturally appreciated only the spiritual essence of the food, while the priests had to be content with the material remains."

Science in 18th century France, attracting bored aristocrats and the dissatisfied middle class, became "fashionable and revolutionary at the same time."

When the Leyden jar was invented "everybody wanted to try the shock and see it tried on other people. Electricity became the high fashion of the courts. The King of France organized the electrification of his whole brigade of guards, who were made to jump in unison by shocks from a battery of Leyden jars."

Szent-Gyorgyi, who first isolated vitamin C, "defined it in a paradoxical way as 'a substance that makes you ill if you don't eat it."

In discussing social science Bernal observes that Machiavelli looked at society clearly and dispassionately. "Patriotic and essentially democratic Florentine though he was, he could see nothing in his time that could succeed except a carefully balanced play of self-interest, force and cunning. But even then it did not pay him to put down in writing the principles on which so many of the great and pious of history were acting, and all it earned him was a bad name which has lasted to this day."

And on the new ways toward social change being worked out in China, he notes that the last of the four stars on its banner "represents the patriotic business men."

WHILE HIS MARXISM as a frank and definite viewpoint helps to make his exposition coherent, there is one point in the author's introduction which, to this reader, tended to obscure rather than to clarify. Evidently with the thought in mind that "process" is the ultimate reality, he refuses to define science.

It is one thing to say, as he does, that science is continually changing and another to assert that it cannot be defined —as if science might be a way of dealing with the qualitative and with change and motion—that is, of abstracting process itself. From its experimental and applied phases to its mathematics, science is based on measurement and defining logic, which are necessarily static. It is a way man has developed to make the endlessly changing reality apparently stand still long enough to be defined and measured.

Process, motion and change are still there after defining science has discovered the more or less permanent forms which these take. To hold that highly disciplined and departmentalized science is indefinable can lead to an unnecessary confusion of the logical with the esthetic. This in turn would obscure science's true character of abstracting definition for us, the definition which we have come to know as verifiable objective facts and as natural and scientific laws.

IT IS POSSIBLE that this difficulty arises out of the problems of treating science, especially the physical sciences, as historical. Bernal correctly notes that science continually changes. Then, less convincingly, he asserts that science is cumulative. It would seem to follow from the last point that its history is essential to any worker in the field. This does not square with common practice in the objective sciences.

J. D. BERNAL
Learning and humanity blended

In physics and chemistry what is taught and built on are the very latest verifiable facts from which superstitions and errors have been carefully eliminated. While the sciences accumulate verifiable facts and workable theories, they are not cumulative in the sense that the arts are; for in the arts, works from the whole range of the past are preserved as active elements in all living cultures. In general, the sciences use the new rather than the old, and ruthlessly—and properly — discard yesterday's measurements, definitions and practices.

EVERYONE KNOWS that working scientists have little to do with what the shamans, priest-kings and alchemists thought. Yet the walls of our homes, the content of our libraries and many of the forms of our buildings are enriched with the emotionalism and the artistry of their times.

Since we value these things so uniquely, it is not too extravagant to suppose that our cultivated sense of values is closely related to our arts. This would establish a relationship between our history and our sense of values, of what is worthwhile such as writing so admirable a book on science as this, without requiring us to deny some of the obvious facts about science.

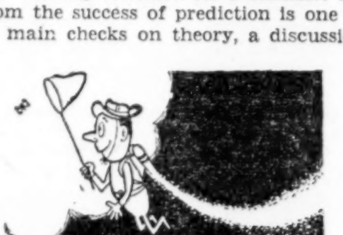
This introductory theoretical point in no way reduces the merit of the rest of the book. Bernal is as sharp on the subject of the social sciences as on other topics. He charges that the old order has discouraged the pursuit of these studies and says: "It is precisely the function of the social sciences to analyze and explain . . . 'values' in their social and historical context and to show how they need to change with the social changes of the future."

While an art-oriented reviewer might wish that the probable role of the arts in conditioning, socializing and educating our distant and recent ancestors were given more attention in all histories, it is only fair to mention that Bernal is sounder on this subject than any other general science work that this reader knows of. He notes that "much of the best social science now, as in the past, is found in novels and poems, in plays and films," thus making the factual observation without drawing the obvious esthetically-weighted conclusions.

HIS SOCIALIST sympathies do not blunt his critical sharpness toward the socialist countries. He observes that, with the exception of anthropology, there has been a general lag in the social sciences in the Soviet Union. (Perhaps due to the theoretical hiatus mentioned above, he does not connect this lack with a narrow and mistaken attitude toward the arts.) As compared to its valid criticisms of capitalism, he holds that "socialist economic theory is still incompletely worked out and liable to considerable controversy."

It is unavoidable that in dealing with so vast a range of narrative even in a thousand pages, the reader may wish for fuller treatment of a few subjects. He points up in a paragraph or two the obscurantist uses to which quantum theory and the "uncertainty principle" has been put. He says almost in passing that "the emergence of science . . . is an event of the same order of importance as the emergence of the human race itself or of its first civilization." He expects the "operational research" applied to peacetime industry some day to have great effects.

HE DISCUSSES Marxist theory at moderate length from the viewpoint of a working scientist. As a scientist for whom the success of prediction is one of the main checks on theory, a discussion of the failure of the industrial proletariat in all the formerly "advanced" countries to achieve—or even to embrace—socialism might have been in order.



Liberation, Paris

But to repeat, this is an excellent book for which these reservations are minor. It can serve better than any the reviewer knows of as a reference work, a book to be dipped into from time to time or read right through—and as a gift to students and wide-awake citizens.

—Robert Joyce

* *SCIENCE IN HISTORY, by J. D. Bernal. Two vols., $3 each as the October and December selections of Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23 St., New York 11, N.Y.*

Robeson picks a base
Shown leaving Westminster Abbey in London after attending the funeral for British composer Dr. Ralph Vaughn Williams, Paul Robeson recently announced that he will henceforth make London his cultural base, but said: "I don't want any overtones or suggestions that I am deserting the country of my birth."

Montgomery's Rev. Abernathy speaks in Los Angeles Oct. 10.

THE UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West 8 St., opens its fall series Friday, Oct. 10, 8 p.m. with a timely topic. One of the leaders of last year's "Walk to Freedom," in which Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., carried on a successful boycott of their city's buses in protest against segregated seating rules, the Reverend Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, will speak on The High Cost of Segregation. Admission is $1. A question period will follow his talk; a coffee hour follows the program.

Tickets can be ordered by mail from the church office if the order is accompanied by check or money order.

Beals attacks Sobell conviction

CARLETON BEALS, author, lecturer and former consultant to the U.S. government on Mexican affairs, has attacked the conviction and imprisonment of Morton Sobell on a 30-year sentence on charges of conspiracy to commit espionage as a "brazen denial of elementary human rights."

Beals read the full record of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial and sent an analysis of the case to Mrs. Morton Sobell, who made public the letter following her recent return from a trip to Mexico to seek material for further legal action in efforts to prove her husband's innocence and free him from prison.

The writer, who is recognized as an authority on Mexico, charged that Sobell was kidnapped from Mexico "with the connivance of U.S. Federal agents, was brutally beaten until unconscious, and that he was taken to the border in violation of U.S. laws and treaties." Reviewing the lack of evidence against Sobell, Beals wrote to Mrs. Sobell:

"In short, no oral, material or even remotely circumstantial evidence was ever presented in court to warrant his conviction or his sentencing. It is so absurd it is incredible. I know of no other instance of miscarriage of justice, or more brazen denial of elementary human rights, in the history of jurisprudence in this or any other country. Frankly, and this may sound harsh to you given your personal interest in the matter, I started reading this transcript with the hope that I would discover evidence beyond a reasonable doubt that he was guilty, for I was anxious to preserve my illusions concerning the noble processes of American justice."

'EDUCATION' BY TV IN LITTLE ROCK
Herbie Denton and William Massey object: How can you ask questions?

Court on schools

(Continued from Page 1)

Chief Justice Warren read the unanimous opinion which forecast that the subterfuge would be short-lived. "Delay in any guise in order to deny the Constitutional rights of Negro children could not be countenanced," it said.

DUTY BOUND: The opinion did not name names but was clearly aimed directly at Faubus, at Gov. J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia and other architects of "massive resistance." State authorities, it said, were "duty bound to devote every effort toward initiating desegregation and bringing about the elimination of racial discrimination in the public school system." For those who refused there was the warning that no state official "can war against the Constitution without violating his undertaking to support it."

Faubus had had a brief moment of "victory" when the ballots of the Sept. 27 special election were counted. Citizens of Little Rock had voted, 19,470 to 7,561, against "racial integration of all schools in the Little Rock school district."

The week before the balloting was marked by hard campaigning on both sides. Faubus told an election-eve press conference that "there may be violence again" if Negro children attempted to register at Central or two other all-white high schools. Eighty ministers issued a pro-segregation statement claiming their views were based "on sound Bible interpretation while integration is based on a false theory of the universal fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man."

STUDENTS SAY "YES": On the other hand, significant groups of clergymen, lawyers, women and students campaigned for a "yes" vote on integration as the only way to safely re-open Little Rock's shut-down schools. Sixty of the 300 attorneys in the city placed a quarter-page ad in local papers pointing out that the segregated "private" schools which Faubus planned to open on the strength of a pro-jimcrow vote would be illegal. The Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools sponsored a half-hour TV program and featured as speakers the Rev. Robert R. Brown, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Arkansas; Methodist Bishop Paul E. Martin of Arkansas and Louisiana, and Dr. T. B. Hay, pastor of the Pulaski Heights Presbyterian Church and president of the Arkansas Council of Churches.

Most impressive were the results of a poll of white students at Hall High. Student Council president Don Smith put the question: "Do you want the schools opened immediately, even if it means opening on an integrated basis?" A whopping 71% (501 students) said "yes"; 24% voted "no" and 5% were undecided.

The Fifth Republic

THE GUARDIAN next week will carry a full interpretation by our Paris correspondent Anne Bauer of the referendum in France last week which approved the new Constitution and gave extraordinary power to Premier de Gaulle.

NAACP APPEALS: But the students did not vote in the public election. And the views of high Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian churchmen, while influential, were not controlling. Most Arkansas—and Southern—religionists are still "Baptist born, Baptist bred, and gonna be a Baptist 'till I'm dead."

So Faubus "won" the election. But the Hight Court opinion and legal moves by the NAACP made it apparent his "victory" might soon be turned into a stinging defeat.

The likelihood was that Little Rock would have to continue with no high schools at all or do what it has refused for the past month: open them as public institutions under the school board's plan for gradual integration. When and if the latter happens, the big question will be what steps the executive branch of government will take to protect the Negro students and uphold the Court's firm insistence that integration proceed with "all deliberate speed."

Meanwhile 3,500 Little Rock high school students were going into the second month of closed schools. After a week of TV instruction in major subjects, many parents praised the non-credit video classes and said they were enjoying the courses themselves. Two TV stations considered continuing educational programs for adults after the schools opened. But nobody viewed the home sessions as an adequate substitute for the give and take of classroom instruction.

VIRGINIA: In Virginia the resistance caused massive shutdowns as junior and senior high schools accommodating 10,000 Negro and white pupils in Norfolk were closed in face of a Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruling affirming a Circuit court order that 17 Negro youngsters be admitted to all-white schools. Previously a thousand students had been locked out of the Front Royal high school in Warren County and almost 2,000 in the public schools of Charlottesville. In these centers, too, opposition was mounting to the "massive resistance" policy of Sen. Harry F. Byrd and Gov. J. Lindsay Almond.

CITES COSTS OF TESTS IN CHILDRENS' LIVES

Pauling wins ovation at big London anti-H-bomb rally

LONDON

NOBEL PRIZE-WINNER Prof. Linus Pauling, featured at a "Scientists on Trial" meeting here Sept. 22, made the most profound impression of all the notables who have spoken to British anti-H-bomb campaigners. With two other "Pugwash group" leaders fresh from the scientists' anti-Bomb conference in Austria—Marcus Oliphant, director of Australia's Physical Sciences Research School, and Cecil Powell of Bristol University, Nobel prizewinner for physics in 1950—Pauling submitted on the Central Hall stage to rigorous cross-questioning by TV commentators and journalists.

An audience of 1,400 contributed a bumper collection of £600 to the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign.

Hostile questioning from some of the "prosecutors" failed to make a dent in the case of the three scientists and their "Pugwash" colleagues (70 scientists from 20 countries—18 from the U.S., ten from the U.S.S.R.). Pauling received an ovation for his presentation combining passion with ironclad facts. Listeners leaving the hall described him enthusiastically as "a scientist who speaks so that we can understand."

THE COST: The scientists pointed out that according to the best professional consensus each big bomb is "tested" at a cost of some 15,000 defective children yet unborn; yet Britain was continuing tests for data the U.S. already has.

To a question from author-journalist Margaret Lane (the Countess of Huntingdon), Powell said that in the opinion of the 70 "Pugwash" scientists a nuclear war would be "a world-wide catastrophe of unprecedented magnitude . . . It is possible at the present time for competent authorities to take the view that it is very likely that the total population of the northern hemisphere would be exterminated . . . Everything to which we attach any value in our civilization would be destroyed—there is no question about it."

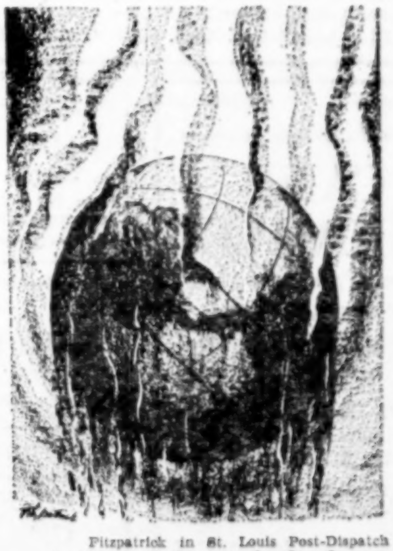
Pauling quoted the Rand Corp. report prophesying that of 15 million survivors of a 630-bomb attack on the U.S., at least 14 million would subsequently die from the effects of fall-out. Everyone in the British Isles would be killed by from 10 to 50 bombs.

ULTIMATE ANSWER: On "clean bombs" Pauling said that "everyone already knows how to make them" but it was "completely incompatible with the nature of war that anyone would use them." There was, he said, no possibility that any "significant war" could be fought which would be "limited." He asked "what national leader would go down to defeat without using the best weapons in his arsenal?" If that were possible, then "why not decide disputes between nations by tossing a coin or by single combat between warriors of each side?"

Pauling warned that the "world-wide catastrophe" might come next week, but added: "For the first time in world history, realism and national and personal selfishness march hand in hand with morality. Wars are no longer profitable in any terms; from now on they will benefit no one." The only ultimate answer was total disarmament by agreement among the nations, but all the Pugwash scientists agreed that test suspension was the immediate program to work for since disarmament could only come by gradual stages.

SIT-DOWN: While the British newspapers announced "at least one more" big bomb test at Christmas Island in the next month, anti-bomb campaigners here continued their picketing of the Aldermaston H-bomb factory, urging workers in leaflets to "refuse to be a party to the crime of genocide" by helping produce the weapons. Dr. Donald Soper, London County Council alderman and former president of the Methodist Conference, led a sit-down party of 30 which camped at the factory gate and defied police orders to "move on." Soper told reporters: "We have no food with us but we shall stay here as long as possible."

The British immigration authorities' threat to bar Pauling from landing here for the Nuclear Disarmament meeting had roused so much protest that he was let in without trouble. He told the press: "This hasn't affected my admiration for Britain at all. The important thing is that this great principle of freedom of speech should continue."



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Last act of the atomic show?

CRUISE OF THE PHOENIX

Peace skipper gets 6 months in jail

EARLE L. REYNOLDS, pacifist skipper of the yacht Phoenix who sailed with his family into the area of the Pacific reserved by the Atomic Energy Commission for its nuclear tests, was sentenced to six month in jail last week. Federal Judge J. Frank McLaughlin in Honolulu also placed Reynolds on probation for 18 months after he serves his sentence. Reynolds filed notice of appeal and was released on $500 bond.

The Phoenix expedition came after the Golden Rule was prevented from leaving Honolulu and its crew jailed for contempt. The AEC had barred all Americans from the area. Its ruling has not yet been tested in the courts.

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WASHINGTON

New Deal farm set-up expands

By Barrow Lyons
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

ONE OF THE MOST important people's organizations in the U.S., the Natl. Assn. of Soil Conservation Districts, has for the first time established a national office in Washington, D.C., with newly selected exec. secy. Gordon K. Zimmerman in charge. Zimmerman was head of the Current Information Section of the Soil Conservation Service when it was established under Dr. Hugh H. Bennett in 1935. He became chief of the Information Divn. in 1940 and remained there for ten years.

In Washington he will be in daily contact with the three agencies of the government most concerned with soil conservation and will be in a position when called upon by members of Congress to testify on soil conservation problems. But he expects more often to bring to Washington officers of his organization, who can speak directly for the farmers of the various soil conservation districts.

TRUE DEMOCRACY: From time to time the NASCD has supported or opposed legislation affecting the 350,000,000 acres of agricultural land now embraced in 2,800 soil conservation districts throughout the U.S. This comprises about one-third of our farming and range land. The system of self-government established in these districts, with a board of five supervisors in each, involves about 14,000 locally elected officials with authority to pass land use regulations resembling the zoning laws in cities.

In the years these districts have been established they have brought farmers together to solve in a democratic manner their problems, select leadership, and improve their incomes. The success of this system has been one of the outstanding accomplishments of the social revolution that began in the years of the Great Depression. The formation of soil conservation districts is regarded by political scientists as one of the most hopeful methods of strengthening the democratic way of life in the U.S.

TASK AHEAD: When asked what his principal duties would be, Zimmerman told your reporter:

"The association will continue to speed up land classification in the U.S. Land generates power which is transformed into market products. But the amount of power which an acre can generate varies greatly between acres, just as do the capacities of electric generators. We don't yet know precisely how the productive capacity of our land is disposed. A survey that will show us just what each acre should be made to produce could be the most important step in preserving the good agricultural soil of this country since the Soil Conservation Service was established 23 years ago.

"When we wish to expand or contract agricultural production, we could do it more effectively,. if we knew the safe maximum capacity of each acre. We would then know which could be cultivated more intensely without destroying them, and which should be used with greater caution—perhaps used in other ways.

"Under the Soil Bank we have had the spectacle of entire farms being taken out of production for various reasons. In some instances the farmer has gone to the city to get an industrial job, while collecting from the government for ceasing to produce. Sometimes the very best land is taken out of production, while the farmer transfers his crops to hillsides to which a plow should never be put. The pattern has been hit or miss."

GREAT TEST: "The soil conservation districts," he added, "are facing a great test. With our population growing at the rate of some 2,500,000 persons a year, the day is not distant—perhaps 20 or 30 years from now—when we shall need the greatest economical production from every acre we have.

"When this time arrives, every citizen will be concerned—the factory worker, and other city dwellers, as well as the farmer — because the production of wholesome food in the varieties which people want will become a problem of major concern. If the soil conservation districts can continue to meet this great public responsibility upon a democratically operated basis, it will be the best for the farmer."

If the districts fail to function well as free democratic institutions, it will be necessary to establish much greater government controls than now, he said.

"We must demonstrate that we can take care of our productive farming lands under our own initiative, with government help, or society will step in. Farming is just as much a public utility as the railroads or the power companies, and we must recognize our responsibility to all of the people. Thus far the soil conservation districts have been almost fantastically successful in rising to this challenge."

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RESORTS

CHAITS GUESTS TELL ALL

THROWING CAUTION TO THE WINDS, Max submitted a two-page questionnaire to Chaits guests (mostly GUARDIAN readers) at the end of the Rosh Hashanah weekend. Then he and Annette ducked as suggestions, brickbats and bouquets zoomed overhead.

WHEN WE TABULATED THE RESULTS (38 couples filled out 47 questionnaires) we discovered happily that all 47 had either a "wonderful" or a "good" vacation.—32, "wonderful," 15, "good." So we looked for things about Chaits that clicked: 46 out of 47 praised the **MEALS**, checking "excellent" and "good" like mad. Only 1 said: "fair." 32 voted the evening **SOCIALS** "fun" or "great fun." 45 enjoyed **DR. LISWOOD'S LECTURE** on Sexual Harmony in Marriage. 21 parents said their children "loved" **DAY CAMP.** Only 2 had difficulty adjusting. 29 (the sprightly ones) rated the **SWIMMING, TENNIS, VOLLEY BALL, HANDBALL, BILLIARDS, PING PONG,** "excellent" or "good." But as important as all *these* were the 16 who reported: *"I met some wonderful people,"* and 24 others who said *"Chaits attracts the nicest crowd."* Chaits' guests ARE the secret of Chaits good times. Which explains why of 37 **new** guests, 33 want to return.

FRANKLY, WE LOVE YOU ALL. We particularly appreciate your valuable suggestions. On one we would like the advice of all our friends, new and old. Asked to choose Chaits' next major improvement, 24 voted for "an artificial swimming pool." Do you agree? Or do you prefer our natural pool? Please let us know.

OCTOBER IS A LOVELY MONTH. Country auctions, antique hunts, tennis on clay and hard top courts, hiking, hunting and fishing, good food, good talk, just plain relaxing. At only $8 a day (less for parties of 10) you owe yourself at least one fall weekend. — Reserve NOW for Columbus Day Weekend, Halloween & in between.

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Any way out?

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

Observe the wisdom of Sir William Flinders Petri: "Democracies eat themselves through excessive taxation until they collapse and are succeeded by the Man on Horseback or the rank growth of the jungle."

E. T. Wallace

Fondest Greetings
to
MAX BEDACHT
on his 75th Birthday—Oct. 13
from his wife, children, grandchildren, great grandchildren.

Warmest Greetings
to
MAX BEDACHT
on his 75th birthday
from his many friends

NEW YORK

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OF CULTURE

- Earl Robinson
- Jackie Berman
- Ukrainian Chorus & Dancers
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Fri., Oct. 10, 8 p.m.
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Auspices: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 49 E. 21 St. OR 4-5058

LOS ANGELES

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"Guardian - on - the - March Review" by the Guardian Angels
SATURDAY, NOV. 8
8:30 P.M.
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For tickets, information, literature or to help, call Jack Fox at AN 8-7777, or Maury Mitchell at WE 3-3042.
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Opening Forum:
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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

PETE SEEGER AT ORCHESTRA HALL Sat., Oct. 25 8:30 p.m. Choice seats from Chi. Coun. of Amer.-Sov. Friendship Suite 1102, 32 W. Randolph, AN 3-1877. — $4.40, $3.30, $2.20.

STEVE TANDARIC TESTIMONIAL DINNER
Sat., Oct. 25 Milda Building, 3142 S. Halsted St. Entertainment including Mexican songs. Bring the family and help an Indiana unionist in his fight to remain in the only country he has known for 48 years. All proceeds go toward appealing Steve Tandaric's deportation to the Supreme Court. Dinner, $2. Social security and unemployed people, $1. Sponsored by Midwest Committee, 431 S. Dearborn St. WE 9-3552.

REV. VIRGIL A. KRAFT, Asst. Pastor Peoples Church, first American ever invited to U.S.S.R. to lecture on American life, reports on **"ADVENTURE IN RUSSIA: 1958."** Magnificent color movie & slides, tape recordings of discussions, classes, beautiful church choirs in the U.S.S.R. — 32 W. Randolph, Hall B-3, Fri., Oct. 10, 8:15 p.m. Adm. 90c. Ausp: Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

DETROIT

Socialist Workers candidate for Governor, **FRANK LOVELL,** will speak on "The New UAW Contract—Gains & Losses for the Auto Workers," Fri., Oct. 10, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

PETE SEEGER and SONNY TERRY
Sat., Oct. 18, 8:30 p.m.
United Dairy Workers Hall, 15840 Second Blvd. Tickets at $2.20 & $1.65 available at Grinnell's Downtown; Center Music Shops, Northland & Eastland; Cambridge Book Stall.

"A CRITICAL VIEW OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY." Hear: William Appleman Williams, University of Wisconsin; and Max Mark, Wayne State University. Fri., Oct. 24, 8 p.m., McGregor Memorial Center, Wayne State University, cerner Second Blvd. and W. Ferry. Auspices: Detroit Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

2nd in Series of Biweekly Fall Forums: J. Storm: **"CHINA, FORMOSA & THE U.S."** Fri., Oct. 10, 8:15 p.m. at Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4 St. Auspices: International Socialist Review

GUARDIAN'S BIG TEN JUBILEE
marking the Guardian's 10th Anniversary, Sat., Nov. 8, 8:30 p.m., Embassy Auditorium, 9th & Grand. $1.25, tax included. For tickets, information, literature or to help, call Jack Fox at AN 8-7777, or Maury Mitchell at WE 2-3042.

NEW YORK

Sun., Oct. 5, 8 p.m.
SUNDAY EVENING FORUM PRESENTS
Dr. Philip S. Foner,
noted labor historian
speaking on his new book,
"Mark Twain, Social Critic"
Advance registrations taken for classes
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Sun., Oct. 5, 2 p.m. On—**PICNIC**—The Skottedals', 742 Higbie Lane, Babylon, L. I., MO 9-4342. ¼-mi. north of Sunrise Hwy., on Higbie Lane. Meet I-SP candidates Annette T. Rubenstein & Hugh N. Mulzac. Songs by Johnny Richardson. Good food. $1 per person, $1.50 couple, children free. Ausp: Nassau-Suffolk Comm. for Independent-Socialist Ticket.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM opens celebration of 30th **ANNIVERSARY** of founding of THE MILITANT with **a DINNER,** Sat., Oct. 18, 7 p.m., 116 University Place. Program at 8:30 p.m. Special feature: **FARRELL DOBBS,** national secretary, Socialist Workers Party, will report on his recent tour of Europe as correspondent for THE MILITANT. Reservations, write or phone, Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl., N.Y.C. 3, AL 5-7852. Cont. $1.50, — program only, $1.

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Tue. 8:30—"Psychology & Life" with **HARRY K. WELLS**
Wed. 6:30—"Political Economy" with **MYER WEISE**
Wed. 8:30—"Soviet Law & Democracy" with **LEON JOSEPHSON**
Thu. 6:30—"Elements of Marxism" with **HAROLD COLLINS**
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PUBLICATIONS

Morris U. Schappes on the A.D.L.; Report on Soviet Jews; Hershl Harris on The Affair Rickover; 2 articles on Israeli Kibbutzim; Irene Paull's story, Duluth Kasrilevka; reviews by Sidney Finkelstein and David Platt—these and regular features in **OCTOBER ISSUE** just out, single copy, 35c; trial sub, 4 issues $1; annual sub, $3, U.S.A., $3.50 elsewhere—**JEWISH CURRENTS,** 22 E. 17 St., N.Y.C. 3.

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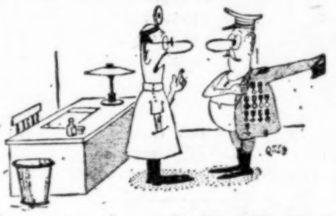
THE GALLERY

AS PART OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S publicity campaign on Agriculture Secy. Benson's rural development program, an article was circulated in Washington describing the plan's achievements. Someone ought to start an investigation because the article tells about Mr. and Mrs. Floyd Berry of Choctaw County, Okla., and how they "were quick to take advantage of the opportunities provided through the rural development program." According to the article these were the opportunities: "Berry operates a 280-acre farm and has a small grade A dairy and a commercial beef herd. To supplement farm income Mrs. Berry drew on her experience as a housewife to get a job cooking in a local cafe. She works from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. daily. Her husband is working at a filling station from 3 p.m. until midnight." . . . **La Stampa** in Turin, Italy, reports that a company in Rome is packaging hand grenades in cellophane bags tied with a sky-blue ribbon.

A "SITUATION WANTED" AD in the N.Y. **Times** reads: "Former Naval officer (fighter pilot), diplomat and sportsman. If you need a new vice pres., public relations or sales exec.; company pilot, hunting, fishing, opera and traveling companion and like exotic food, contact me. I will also train and op. your air force, providing it's anti-Comm." . . . An inspector in the London police threatened disciplinary measures against officers who drink tea on duty. In retaliation the bobbies refused to arrest prostitutes. . . . Lloyd's of London is now offering hospitalization insurance for dogs. . . . For five years Mile Ivcic went about his job in a locomotive repair shop in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, totally mute. He communicated with fellow workers by sign language. Last week he amazed his shopmates by joining in the general gab in perfect and unimpeded speech. He says he had decided there was too much talk around the shop and kept silent in protest. After five years he figured he had made his point.



London Daily Mirror

"Strained chest muscles—stop being a herot for a bit."

IF YOU HAVE BEEN BLAMING bad weather on H-bomb blasts, you have company. Dr. George T. Kimble, chairman of the Geography Dept. of Indiana U., says that a study he conducted shows that the rest of the world has also suffered from unusual weather this year. He concludes: "Weathermen are having a hard time convincing British, Japanese, European and American laymen that the alphabetical bombs aren't at the bottom of it." . . . When writer Albert E. Kahn was called before the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee last week, the Senators wanted to know if he had ever received instructions from Moscow. Kahn tells us: "I made the frank and unequivocal admission that on one occasion I had. The instructions, I divulged [to the Committee], were delivered to me in Paris in 1949 by the well-known Soviet author, Ilya Ehrenburg. The instructions were written in Russian. I turned over a photostatic copy of the original document, together with an English translation of its content. This document accompanied a pipe which Mr. Ehrenburg had given me as a gift. The document was headed, 'Instructions for Pipe Smokers.'"

FOR A MAN WHO DOESN'T HAVE EVERYTHING a mail order company is offering "a belly button salt cellar for people who like to eat celery in bed." If this doesn't stir you, a California company sells a "realistic, skin-colored Spook Hand with red fingernails and bony knuckles." As a come-on it says: "Picture this fantastically real fake hand poking out from your auto trunk, 'opening' a door, or clasping your shoulder." You'll laugh yourself so sick you'll need a "Jayne Mansfield Hot Water Bottle," molded in her shape, sold by a New Jersey company. Instructions say: "Just pour the liquid in Jayne's head, replace the seal-tight stopper and you are ready for convalescing." . . . To Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, Soviet technological successes are due more to "success in espionage and subversion than . . . to their scientific apparatus." Their secret weapon in the political field, according to Mrs. Glenn G. Hayes, president of the Natl. Women's Christian Temperance Union, is "to get our diplomats drunk and take things away from them."

—Robert E. Light

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Folic Acid, U.S.P.	0.5 mg.
Dicalcium Phosphate, Anhydrous	260 mg.
Choline Bitartrate	31.4 mg.
Inositol	15 mg.
dl-Methionine	10 mg.
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Manganese Sulfate, Dried	1.573 mg.
Sodium Molybdate	0.253 mg.
Potassium Iodide, U.S.P.	0.099 mg.
Potassium Sulfate	4.458 mg.
Zinc Sulfate, Dried	1.388 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate, Dried	21.583 mg.

100 capsules, $3.50

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL ______

No COD's. Full payment must accompany each order. Please make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

Orders filled only in the U.S. and territories and Canada.

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City .... Zone .... State..........

NEWSPAPER

VITAMIN—MINERAL

For general use

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vitamin A (Fish Liver Oil)	5,000 U.S.P. units
Vitamin D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1,000 U.S.P. units
Thiamin HCl U.S.P.	3 mg.
Riboflavin U.S.P.	2.5 mg.
Pyridoxine HCl	0.75 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.
Ascorbic Acid U.S.P.	50 mg.
Vitamin B-12 U.S.P.	1.5 mcg.
Folic Acid U.S.P.	0.34 mg.
d-alpha Tocopheryl Acetate (Vit. E.) Equiv. to 3 I.U.	
DiCalcium Phosphate Anhyd.	747 mg.
Niacinamide U.S.P.	20 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate Dried U.S.P. (Equivalent to 13.4 mg. Iron)	45.56 mg.
Postassium Iodide U.S.P.	0.133 mg.
Manganese Sulfate Dried CP	4.72 mg.
Cobalt Sulfate 7-H-20	0.49 mg.
Zinc Sulfate Dried CP	3.9 mg.
Sodium Molybdate 2-H-20	1.01 mg.
Copper Sulfate Monohyd.	2.8 mg.
Potassium Sulfate CP	11.2 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate Dried	54 mg.

100 tablets, $2.50

VITAMIN - MINERAL CANDITABS

Choice of chocolate, cherry or both flavors mixed

Each chewable, flavored, sugar-coated tablet contains:

Vitamin A Acetate	2,500 U.S.P. units
Vitamin D	250 U.S.P. units
Thiamin chloride	1 mgm.
Riboflavin (as the soluble Riboflavin-5-phosphate)	0.25 mgm.
Vitamin B-12 Cyanocobalamin	3 mcgm.
Ascorbic acid (as the sodium ascorbate)	30 mgm.
Pyridoxine HCl	0.1 mgm.
Niacinamide	10 mgm.
Calc. Pantothenate	1 mgm.
Cobalt (from cobalt sulfate)	0.014 mgm.
Copper (from copper sulfate)	0.07 mgm.
Iodine (from Pot. Iodide)	0.027 mgm.
Potassium (from Pot. Iodide)	0.01 mgm.
Iron (from Reduced Iron)	1 mgm.
Molybdenum (from sodium molybdate)	0.01 mgm.
Manganese (from manganese sulfate)	0.028 mgm.
Magnesium (from magnesium sulfate)	0.108 mgm.
Zinc (from zinc sulfate)	0.05 mgm.

100 capsules $2.25

PRICES SLASHED ON GUARDIAN VITAMINS

THERAPEUTIC VITAMINS With MINERALS

for people on restricted diets

Vitamin A	25,000 USP Units
Vitamin D	1,000 USP Units
Thiamine (B-1)	10 mg.
Riboflavin (B-2)	5 mg.
Niacinamide	100 mg.
Pyridoxine (B-6)	1 mg.
Vitamin B-12	5 mcg.
Ascorbic Acid (C)	150 mg.
Calcium	103.6 mg.
Phosphorus	80.2 mg.
Iron	10 mg.
Cobalt	0.1 mg.
Copper	1 mg.
Iodine	0.098 mg.
Manganese	0.954 mg.
Magnesium	5.56 mg.
Molybdenum	0.17 mg.
Potassium	4.98 mg.
Zinc	1.4 mg.

100 capsules, $4.95

MULTIPLE VITAMIN FORMULA

In small, easy-to-swallow capsules

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vit. A. Palmitate	5,000 USP Units
Vit. D	500 USP Units
Vit. B-1 (Thiamine HCL)	3 mg.
Vit. B-2	2.5 mg.
Vit. B-6	0.5 mg.
Vit. C	40 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.
Niacinamide USP	20 mg.
Vit. B-12	2 mcg.
Folic Acid	0.25 mg.

100 capsules, $1.75

HIGH POTENCY MULTIPLE VITAMINS FORMULA

For general vitamin deficiency

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vit. A (Natural)	12,500 USP Units
Vit. D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1,000 USP Units
Vit. B-1 (Thiamine Hcl)	5 mg.
Vit. B-2	5 mg.
Vit. B-6	2 mg.
Vit. C	100 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	10 mg.
Niacinamide USP	30 mg.
Vit. B-12—Activity (Cobalamin Conc. N.F.)	2 mcg.
Folic Acid	0.5 mg.

100 capsules, $3.25

STRESS FORMULA

For undue stress or strain caused by worry or fatigue

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Thiamine Hcl. (Vit. B-1)	10 mgm.
Riboflavin (Vit. B-2)	10 mgm.
Niacinamide	100 mgm.
Calcium Pantothenate	20 mgm.
Pyridoxine Hcl.	2 mgm.
Folic Acid	1.5 mgm.
Ascorbic Acid (Vit. C)	300.0 mgm.
Vitamin B-12 (Oral Concentrate)	4.0 mcgm.
Menadione (Vitamin K. Analog)	2 mg.

100 capsules, $5.50

HEMATINIC ANTI-ANEMIA FORMULA

High in Iron, Liver & B-12

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Ferrous Sulphate Dried U S P (Equivalent to 57.5 mg. of iron)	4.4 gr.
Liver Dessicated N F (Undefatted)	200 mg.
Stomach Powder	100 mg.
Vitamin B-12 U S P	10 mcg.
Ascorbic Acid U S P	50 mg.
Folic Acid U S P	1 mg.

100 capsules, $4

PAUL ROBESON'S NEW 12" LP ALBUM $3.95

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the SPECTATOR

For a full-bellied future ...

LONDON

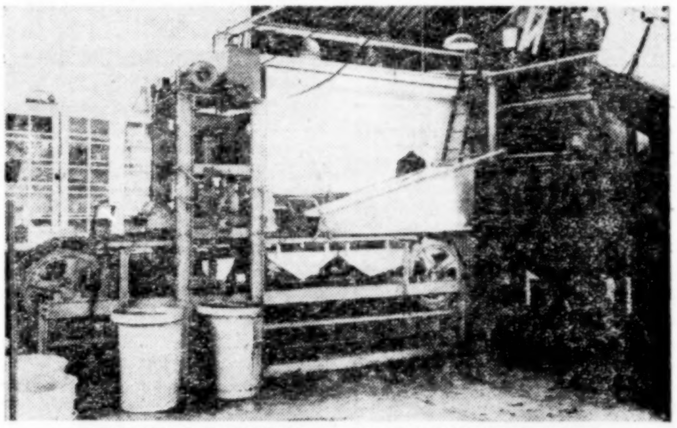
MORE THAN HALF the people in the world eat under 2,200 calories a day: they are hungry—and hunger, not ideology, is the correct name for the root of today's tensions. Consider in this context the spectacular increase in the mouths to be fed, due to recent medical conquests of mass-killer diseases. Consider that of the thousands of species of vegetation the earth produces, man has learned to use only a few dozen as food: he hungers while walking upon, and in the shade of, potentially abundant nourishment. And consider on the other hand the cow, contentedly swallowing stuff that turns our stomachs and changing it into those delectable proteins, milk and steak.

Here in Britain, with its .8 acre of land per head of which .55 is used for agriculture, and now importing more than half its food, these matters have preoccupied biochemist N. W. Pirie ever since the difficult war years. Pirie is a tall, tousle-haired, witty Scot who likes people and thinks they have a full-bellied future worth working for, but is critical of the cow. A fervent admirer of what it produces from masticated vegetation, he charges this "animal converter" with gross inefficiency because it wastes much of the protein.

Pirie has devised a machine to do what the cow does with less waste. To the layman it has a Rube Goldberg look, but it works. It chugs along in a big shed at Rothamsted agricultural experiment station north of London, where Pirie lives in a cottage and carries on his revolutionary un-Malthusian activities.

COCKFOOT GRASS and bryony, spinach and legume forages, colza and sea lettuce and China's **oun-tsai** head the biochemists' list of protein-rich vegetables. Pirie's 1.5-horsepower mechanical cow pulps and presses three-fourths of a ton an hour of these or other species. It extracts about one-third of the protein as juice in the first round and as much again by repeating the process with the addition of water. Heat coagulates the juice, and the protein is pressed into blocks which can be easily crumbled into powder form. It keeps indefinitely under refrigeration or in cans.

Two problems remain to be solved. One is to make a much cheaper and simpler machine with which any underfed community could turn "inedible" local vegetation into food. "All I know at present," says Pirie, "is how to make the stuff on a large laboratory scale." He would like, as a next step, to set up an experimental station in some country with much vegetation and little food "and see how it works."


THE PIRIE EXPERIMENTAL 'MECHANICAL COW'
Skeptics doubt that it will ever replace the old cudchewer

The other problem is to produce from the caked or powdered protein—which has little to say to the palate or to the eye—a palatable and attractive food. Pirie, strictly an amateur in the kitchen, has tried it with varying success as partial replacement for meat in stews and cheese in welsh rarebit; as soup thickening and for stuffing vegetables and raviolis, and in biscuits and anchovy and cheese pastries. His most jubilant moment so far came after a series of experiments in mixing it with fish. But the stuff is dark green and imparts its color to everything.

SKEPTICS BOTH IN BRITAIN and in underfed countries shake their heads over this problem of dark-greenness, but Pirie insists: "It's just that we're unaccustomed to the color and, if I may say so, a litle bigoted." To him it's more than a problem of salesmanship; he says: "Look what people can be persuaded to eat and enjoy for breakfast. Some of it looks like clippings off a thatched roof. If they'll eat that, they'll eat anything."

He points out that in some parts of Africa canned cat-food is regarded as a delicacy, and recalls what happened recently in one district of India, where the people liked rice but nothing was available except wheat with which they were unacquainted. Scientists worked for years to develop a method of reducing wheat to rice-like pellets. They had just succeeded when it was discovered that the people were demanding wheat instead of rice.

Concentrating on what he considers the main problem of developing a cheap mechanical-cow machine, Pirie has offered to supply his product to any manufacturer interested in putting it into more attractive form. It may well be that he is on the brink of history's biggest break-through for peace, whose other name is abundance.

—**Cedric Belfrage**